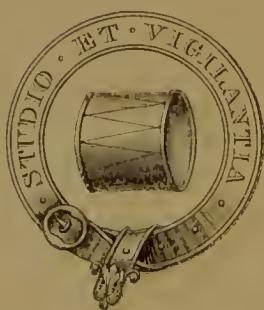


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HUMAN EVOLUTION

Some Opinions of the Press

"The book is written hopefully and temperately, and it is well worthy of study as a contribution to one of the most pressing questions of the day."—*Glasgow Herald*.

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HUMAN EVOLUTION

An Inductive Study
of Man

BY

G. ROME HALL, M.D.

CHEAP

EDITION



LONDON

SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO., LIMITED
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

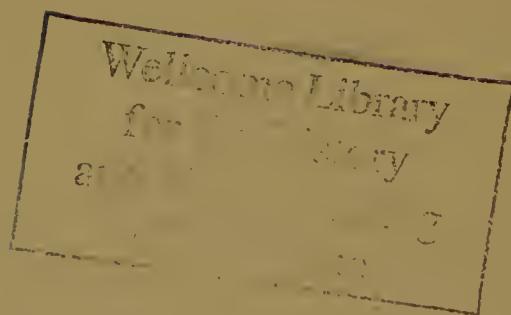
1903

PRINTED BY
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LTD.,
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.

TO THE MEMORY OF
My Father,
THE
REV. GEO. ROME HALL, F.S.A.,
FORMERLY VICAR OF BIRTLEY,
NORTHUMBERLAND,
THIS BOOK IS
DEDICATED WITH ALL AFFECTION.

For over thirty-three years he was the minister and daily friend of his parishioners, the exponent of a broad and helpful Christianity, never the ecclesiastic.

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PREFACE

OF all the ethical signs of the age the growth of the spirit of Altruism is probably the most marked ; it is certainly the marked feature of the last decade of the past century to all whose minds are neither stagnant through living for self, nor active only in the ability to amass profit and gain.

If all progress towards higher and nobler ideals of life start within the personality of men, it follows that the wish for the fulfilment of such must result in alteration of our social forms of existence ; since society has continually altered in the past it would be absurd to suppose that it will not do so in the future. The great question for the vital tenth of mankind at present is—what will be the constitution of the social forms that will evolve from out of our competitive commercial civilisation ? This book is one of many that attempt to answer this question.

In the writer's opinion it is impossible for anyone to answer this question with knowledge founded upon inductive reasoning except that he has lived the life of the manual labouring classes, now no longer sunk in apathetic servility but awaking to the consciousness of their manhood power, or except

that he has been for some years in such close contact with them that all class distinction in mutual intercourse has been lost, the relationship simply being that of man and man. Then, and only then, when true friendship has been established, will their capacities, aims, objects, and aspirations be fully understood, weighed, and balanced.

To any Socialist who has undergone medical training the analogies between corporeal, psychical, and social diseases must appear most marked; without such schooling the full understanding of pathological analogies, whether in the causation of disease or in the results thereof, must be difficult of full understanding and appreciation.

The science of modern medicine has been founded upon the study of man as revealed by all previous science bearing upon his existence, the phenomena upon which it is based being those especially laid bare by anatomical, physiological, and chemical means, as to his physical, psychical, social, and embryological phrases of life. Since social economy is founded upon the phenomena of the social life of mankind viewed through all previous knowledge, it was felt to be a natural process of thought to commence this book with the chapters bearing upon material, cosmical, social, and archaic man. These subjects are each so vast in themselves that it is impossible to do more than to refer to the salient features of each such aspect of humanity in the space relegated to them in this book; the object being to appeal to the ordinary man who is unable to devote time for an extended and complicated study of any such question as this one here considered.

It was also a natural line of thought to lead up to a cursory study of certain economic phenomena and the question of Socialism to review our race from an historical aspect, leading up to a consideration of Commercial Britain from the wider aspect of Western Feudalism which preceded it, that state of society being in its turn built up upon the still wider basis of previous Barbaric Europe. There are many excellent scientific works extant upon the present state of commercialism viewed from an economic aspect, as well as dealing with Socialism in like manner ; the final chapters in this book are merely meant to prepare the minds of those who have never considered them for a proper study thereof.

The last chapter is added to facilitate the study through tabular delineation of certain principles and statements made earlier on in the book ; it would be advisable to glance at it before reading the previous chapters, their understanding would then be rendered easier and reference more easily made when requisite for clearer appreciation of statements made. The historical chapters are chiefly founded upon *Green, Hume, Freeman, and Taylor (Family History of England)*. Confirmation of the facts quoted from the *Fabian Tracts* will be found by reference to the pamphlets in question, official or other authority being quoted therein for every statement made.

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HUMAN EVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I. MATERIAL MAN.

Perceptivity, or action and re-action, the source of all knowledge—the element of human fallibility in knowledge—need of personal action and re-action to obtain true knowledge. The three great divisions of Nature—"the naturalness of the supernatural." "Laws of Nature" are no entities, as more phenomena are sought out so must these laws be modified, examples in modern science. The atom—molecule—energy—formalising energy. Molecular aggregates—protoplasmic aggregates—characteristics of protoplasm—Life. Progression from simpler to more complex forms a law of nature—specialisation of cellular aggregations from lowest to highest. Mentality is potential in all protoplasm, manifestations of mind—in embryonic and immature—in higher forms. As mind develops so does the animal's complexity, so does its power over Nature. Reasons of harmonious and disharmonical mentality—symptoms thereof. Cellular aggregations from simple cell upwards—tissue—organ—animal form. The highest animal form, Man, has an added creational principle—Humanity. Natural selection—natural election, former causes chiefly specific differences, latter generic. Functional activity precedes organisation, desire precedes function, disharmonical environment precedes desire. Organisation causes "form."

"Mankind was immersed, so to say, in an atmosphere—Nature—which, by contact, continually irritated the sensitive extremities of the nerves. Not merely the seases, but the entire surface of the body both external and internal, was set at work. The sensations imparted to it, by reverberating in the brain, the marrow, and the nervous centres, there became transformed into tonicity, motion, and ideas; and he (Dr. Pascal) felt convinced that good health lay in the normal fulfilment of this work: the reception of the sensations and their ejection in the form of motion and ideas—the nourishment, in fact, of the human machine by the regular play of its organs. Work thus became the great law, the regulator of the living universe."—*Zola*.

Labor omnia vincit. Laborare est orare.

WHENCE am I? whither do I go? what are the laws that govern and control my being? to what end am I here? chiefest of all queries, what am I? are questions which in all ages have vexed and harassed not only the aristocracy of

intellect, but to a lesser extent the ordinary average mind as well.

Self-knowledge tells us that the world external to ourselves is presented to our cognisance through what we call our sensations ; skilled knowledge tells us of the intricate machinery whereby we perceive, and that we so perceive, because we re-act on the outer world again. Of this reaction the characteristic beyond all others is that of change, of waste and repair ; when the percipiency of external relations is no longer met by corresponding changes in the internal relations of our personal and special being we cease to exist any more. By this action of the universe upon ourselves, by this re-action of ourselves upon the universe, we know what we do know.

The channels of knowledge being our various senses, the elaboration and utilisation of our sensations being dependent on the wholesomeness or otherwise of ourselves, the amount of sensibility being in accordance with the frequency with which the world external to ourselves acts upon us, it follows that with each of us our percipiency and knowledge of the whole universe, including the ego itself, must vary and differ according to our own integrity as an organism, and to the exposure and use we make of it.

And so we find here, at the very foundation of all knowledge, a difficulty intrinsic and insurmountable as it might appear, caused by the fact that in every statement we record of our experiences of existence there is the element of human fallibility, all men differing more or less in the three factors of percipiency enumerated above. Owing to this intrinsic variation in each person's perceptivity we each of us possess our own automorphic standard through and by which we judge or condemn the rest of the universe. The fewer the points of tangent at which we touch the world of men and affairs, the more certain and convinced we are of our own infallibility and knowledge ; the greater in number and frequency our

re-actions, the more convinced are healthy or wholesome minds of their ignorance and fallibility, knowing themselves somewhat better than the former they are the more gifted in helpfulness, charity, and forbearance. We can best express this somewhat as follows, calling it the "Law of little knowledge": *the fewer the known facts the greater the dogmatism thereupon.* All feelings or sensations are facts to the brain experiencing them, however wrongly it may misinterpret or elaborate them at times. Of all automorphs the worst to deal with is not the ignorant person, but the individual who believes himself to be educated because he reads somewhat, or comes into constant contact with a higher grade of mind or person than those whom he considers to be of the "lower orders." Some of the best examples of "cultured ignorance" are the university man whose facts are mostly at second hand from books, not from re-acting men; the closet-naturalist with his non-corresponding specimens; the respectable suburban citizen with his rule-of-thumb existence; and the charitable lady of private means with all her faculties deadened or perverted by her cotton-wool environment and her dogmatic and self-living acquaintances. Fortunately, to all classes there are many noble and gifted exceptions, else we would have had the social revolution before now. Hence it follows that to attain to the truth in perception we must exercise all our faculties equally and as fully as we can, whether "physical, intellectual, emotional, spiritual"; if we do not strive in this manner we can never throw off the wrappings of the mummydom of the centuries of centuries of the slave-blood that affects us all, by which our minds have been deadened and fossilised by "custom," religious and civil, by which plea—"it is customary," the slaver caste have always until now held their own, as they considered it. One result of the automorphic mind is that the better-to-do classes in civilisation consider they know all that there is desirable to understand

of national affairs, hence they imagine that anyone differing from them in the knowledge of the world must do so from ignorance, more especially if he be one of their own class. This error was noted by Socrates as flagrant in his society : " For each, because he excelled in the practice of his art, thought he was very wise in other most important matters, and this mistake of theirs obscured the wisdom that they really possessed." This same " one Socrates, a most pestilent fellow, who corrupts the youth " (our present-day equivalent is—" an ignorant agitator ") knew well what a maze of difficulties the imperfections of the senses might lead one into, for he says just before his death : " As long as we are encumbered with the body, and our soul is contaminated with such an evil, we can never fully attain to what we desire ; and this, we say, is truth." In his day knowledge was generally in the childlike stage of granting explanations through imagination instead of reason ; after commenting upon the fluctuation in knowledge and reasoning as phenomena and sensations are sifted in controversy, he states : " But I am well aware that arguments which draw their demonstrations from probabilities are idle ; and unless one is on one's guard against them, they are very deceptive." To me it seems, that if one wishes in the least to answer the questions formulated at the commencement of this chapter, that one must attempt to keep clear of the refuse collected in the seminaries of superstition and sensual logic, that one ought to reason inductively from the known to the unknown, from as wide an environment as possible, considering only as sure foundations of logic those phenomena which have been tested for ages by the average mind in their application, or agreed upon by intellects seeking after the truth for itself alone.

The three great divisions of the universe to any student are —God, Man, Nature ; this is the paramount trinity in our Cosmos, to the average mind : man, apparently puny and

insignificant, stands judging of God by his own automorphic standard, and testing nature through his imperfect materiality. Let us trace, as far as space permits, in this chapter his relationship to the natural world; in the next we will see as far as possible in what attitude he stands to his Creator. To judge as to what we are we must include a slight and necessarily superficial study of what constitutes the world of nature, for nothing is more sure, except all reasoning be fallacious, that man is not a being apart, but has within his own self elements, phenomena, laws, common to all nature, only altered and changed to be subservient to his special place in the universe. More than that, modern free thought is breaking down the idea, born of priesthood and perpetuated by the slave-blood in mentality, that there are two distinct worlds, one present and natural, one future and supernatural. We are beginning to believe only in one state of existence, and that the present is merely a stage, evanescent and evolutionary, of the whole, through which run, as it were, the same lines and laws of conduct, of action and reaction. Towards the furtherance of this idea, "the disclosure of the naturalness of the supernatural," no one has done more recently than the late Professor Henry Drummond. He says, quoting Bacon, "This I dare affirm in knowledge of Nature, that a little natural philosophy, and the first entrance into it, doth dispose the opinion to atheism; but, on the other side, much natural philosophy, and wading deep into it, will bring about men's mind to religion." Agnosticism is the extreme of the revolt against the idea that the spiritual world is foreign and external to this material life, against the idea that everything now must give way to unproven hypotheses as to the unknown, that this life ought not to be a lovely portion of a lovelier whole. Although the study of phenomena is as old as our race, the healthy child virtually living solely for that purpose in its earliest years, it is only in comparatively recent generations that human

rationality has advanced sufficiently far to be able to perceive behind all phenomena certain principles of action and reaction, modes of living as it were, which dominate the natural world. These principles, fixed relationships, or whatever you choose to call them, are what Science has termed Natural Laws ; this expression, a Law of Nature, is usually much misunderstood and misapplied by the unskilled majority. Because the many regard juridical law as a permanent something—legislators usually being careful to fix the popular gaze on the words in the Statute-book or on decisions, rather than on the only principle justifying any law, the benefit of the generality, and therefore altering in application as the generality change—they seem also to regard a “Law of Nature” as a fixed permanent something in its essence, something tangible and of individuality, as it were. Natural Laws are in fact no definite entities (and it has to be remembered that this term is usually applied as a cloak of ignorance, to define something we do not understand or grasp), but they merely express a definite fixed relationship between phenomena under given conditions.

Edward Carpenter, in “Modern Science : A Criticism,” says, “As working hypotheses, and as long as they are kept down to brief steps which can be *verified*, the scientific theories are very valuable—indeed we cannot do without them.” This means that natural laws are indispensable for the practical application of phenomena to use, as long as the phenomena they are based upon are perceptible, but to build up either before or behind any group of phenomena a further series and to say the same relationship will be found is simply to theorise on what human sensibility has not yet perceived. And when we do say that this or that fixed relationship does exist, that there is this or that law, we indeed gain no knowledge of why or wherefore it can be so recognised, we are no further advanced than Newton was when he said: “In fact, the cause of gravitation remains undiscovered.”

Perhaps the first race to definitely attempt to discover "Law" were the Greeks, amongst whom, as the most prominent early investigators we find Aristotle, Pythagoras, Plato, Solon, and Socrates. When the latter says, "I was wonderfully desirous of that wisdom which they call a history of nature: for it appeared to me to be a very sublime thing to know the causes of every thing, why each thing is generated, why it perishes, and why it exists," he clearly shows what he was seeking after, that he sought law in chaos, for, as Protagoras says: "The whole life of man requires rhythm and harmony." It is noteworthy that natural law, or the principles of the relationships of phenomena, only arrived to a process of orderly development when thinkers began to mutually assist one another, stimulated by the *camaraderie* of the wars for freedom in religious thought (or rather what they took to be such), assisted by the aid of printing; most of all, by the ethical factors in human evolution that culminated in the intellectual revolution of the Renaissance.

It appears to be a natural fact, one at the very root of all knowledge, that every science must alter in many of its theories time after time, for a science is merely a skilled arrangement of phenomena with statements (theories or laws) of their inter-relationship one to the other under various conditions. As men reach out further and further into the eternal unknown from their little circle of perceptivity, of the action of that unknown upon themselves and their reaction there-upon, they will persistently have to revolutionise and reorganise their acquisition in knowledge; a sensation, a phenomenon, will remain the same from the first to the last of the human race, the explanation of its relationship to the rest of the universe must alter whenever new phenomena are perceived wherewith it can be compared.

The Atomic theory in Chemistry, the Ether theory in Light, the Law of Evolution, the Law of Supply and Demand,

for example, have been most beneficial under the condition of phenomena at the time each was formulated ; in each case mentioned the science they affect will be undergoing re-organisation before long ; they themselves *may* vanish as " law," their value as working hypotheses will remain. The growing antagonism between the chemist's and physicist's atom ; the discovery of the " new light," although it was well known that certain rays were visible to some animals that were unknown to men by direct percipency ; the insufficiency of the Law of the Survival of the Fittest to explain evolution in the kingdom of Life, let alone that the ordinary conception of it makes the animal state a desireless, mechanical existence ; the uprising of an educated living and militant proletariat in the economical world, in the place of a slave-class, uneducated, passive, and unpurposely irritable ; are all examples of factors entering each science affected, and go to show that as the base of the phenomena upon which each science is founded grows further backward from the observers in extent, so must the knowledge of their existence lead to a fuller analysis and rearrangement when circumstances demand it.

Formless and void, desolate and empty, we are told in one legendary narrative of the world's earliest existence, was the state of this earth in the beginning. Copied as it probably was originally from the engraved brick tablets of ancient Accad, it seemed insufficient to the Greek intellect if I judge these two passages from the " Phaedo " aright, for they seem to embody the idea that from the very first a single entity could not exist by itself, rather, that the very conception of an embryonic world, even in its dimmest and scantiest state, necessitates a duality of entities at the very least. " See now, O Cebes," says the sage, . . . " for if one class of things were not constantly given back in the place of another, revolving, as it were, in a circle, but generation were direct from one thing alone into its opposite, and did not turn round again

to the other, or retrace its course, do you know tha all things would at length have the same form, be in the same state, and cease to be produced?" Immediately after this he says: " And if all things were mingled together, but never separated, that doctrine of Anaxagoras would soon be verified, ' all things would be together.' "

Scientists have found it necessary, for the purpose of forming working hypotheses as to the natural world, to take for granted behind the elementary bodies of chemistry the existence of a concept which is usually termed ether, itself a duality in composition, a substance, as it were, manifesting mass and power in their most elementary forms. With increased knowledge our ideas of this primæval materiality must alter; we may even be able before long to judge of its existence phenomenally instead of as now by analogy and deduction alone. In calling this primitive differential ether, or whatever else you choose to call it, by the name of materiality I may appear to be wrong in so doing; but it seems to me that to consider it an immaterial concept is too premature; for if this material world is compounded from it, so to speak, it appears to be more right to consider it a materiality only intangible and ungrasped up to the present time.

That there is some definite entity required, and acknowledged by present-day science to exist behind known phenomena, is all we can say; in it we have to embody our notions of primitive mass and motion, matter and energy, mass and power, or whatever else you care to call these necessary concepts upon which we build up the material sciences, but no ancient mythologies possessed wilder and more variant views of the earth's earliest ages than do modern scientists of impalpable primitive ether. Viewing it in this light all scientists consider ether to be pervading the universe, and that from it all phenomenal substances are born, so to

speak, the elements of the chemist being its offspring, each with their different and permanent original impress, if not in form, certainly in characteristics.

A true chemical element is a substance that by re-action and action of other substances cannot be split up into any thing different in any characteristics than to itself, that is, the re-action or internal relations of its minutest particle alway remain the same to external action ; the minutest conceivable particle chemically is the atom. The above qualified definition is given, as it may be that some bodies now treated as elementary may be proven some day to be compounded of known or unknown elements. Almost annually now are new elements being discovered by experimenters, the latest terrestrial example being that of helium. An "atom" of each elementary substance there must be, but the atomic theory built up, splendid in conception and revolutionary in effect as it was, may be supplanted in time by another ; at present we conceive of atoms being built up into molecules, the smallest mass we can divide matter into by physical means ; this was the old definition, and may also have to be altered for a better one day. With few exceptions the molecule of all elements is supposed to be composed of two atoms, linked together, as it were ; under definite conditions, and with fixed results, atoms of various elements break apart from one another and link with others together again to form fresh molecules, usually with totally new characteristics to what either or any had before. This is "chemical action," and when one atom parts company with one or more companions to take up the equivalent position with others, usually ousting one or more atoms of this other body, we say that "chemical affinity" of the one for the strange atom or atoms has been greater than the affinity or bond with its former companion or companions.

Concerning this "atom," it is now an accepted dictum,

chiefly on the authority of Herschell and Clark Maxwell, that "atoms bear the impress of being manufactured articles." For a long time hydrogen was thought to be the primitive atom; a fitter candidate is now found in helium as the primary protyle. When all known elements are grouped together, we find a most remarkable and significant relationship between their chief characteristics, the exceptions being no more than the necessary fallibility of human observation could account for, as if all could be said to have one common factor, of which each is a multiple, the difference between every distinct elementary atom being founded on the characteristics hereby conferred. It would almost appear, granted this necessary sub-atom, itself composed of the two primitive entities of matter and energy, mass and motion, or whatever else you call them, that the difference between the various elementary atoms is in their build, as it were, according to the flimsiness or solidity of their structure. It is, for example, a recognised law that the densities of all the elements known in the gaseous state are identical with their atomic weights; or what is the same thing, the atoms in the gaseous state occupy the same space." But the two great points to recognise are that not only do the atoms seem to be built up of smaller portions with definite fixed relationships in their mutual cohesion, but that they preserve definite relationships to one another, and always invariably the same under same conditions, that they observe definite "Law" one toward the other.

The ability conferred by spectrum analysis to decide as to the elements present in the celestial bodies, proves what was recently said as to "Laws of Nature," that they only hold good under certain definite conditions and whilst certain factors remain the same. According as the two greatest influences—heat and pressure—alter in comets, so will this or that element be sometimes found absent or present; the change may be also from several elements until only one

remains. In the hottest stars, where chemical action must be almost beyond our conceivability, we find all the spectral lines except that of hydrogen disappear; here we may reasonably suppose that no compounds exist as yet. So it appears to me that when some scientists tell us their estimate of the earth's age, pointing out to us the principle of the uniformity of existing causes, that we can point out now in the universe in certain wandering bodies in the very stage through which our earth is supposed to have passed, phenomena opposed to, or rather, transcending the fixed relationships or "Laws" of our earth as it is now: hence their data must be valueless except they can judge of the foreign conditions of phenomena during our earth's genesis as a laboratory, fiery and majestic, beyond all conception. The recognition now also of a fourth or ultra-gaseous state of substance beyond the classical three conditions of solid, fluid, and gaseous, has demanded new physical conceptions, and a wider basis for chemical knowledge.

Substances are usually stated to be composed of matter and energy, both indestructible, the latter changing its special form of manifestation, but never lost; always being present as one of three active radiant forms—heat, light, or electricity; or in one of the passive attrahent forms of gravitation, magnetism, or chemical affinity.

One of the most important of scientific conclusions has been, that as regards all natural phenomena, we can state from observation—"Nihil ex nihilo"; and the result of this has been the formulating of the law of "Conservation of Energy," that energy can change its form of exhibition, but can never be destroyed. At present we have to form our conceptions of active energy upon the "clash" and wave theories, that according to the intensity of molecular impact, the elasticity and rhythm of the molecular movements, we have these minute bodies rendered manifest to us as heat,

light, or electrical power. Although we know much as to the results of what we call chemical affinity and magnetism, we are virtually as regards the *causes* thereof no further advanced than Newton in respect to the other passive form of energy, gravitation, when he said that its cause remained undiscovered. To explain the ordinary phenomena of matter and energy, we have the doctrine of Polarity,* practically as formulated by Zoroaster 3,000 years ago, stated as an imperative category, but to say that this explains the *cause* of energy seems to me to be equivalent to stating that the nature of a substance can be discovered by dividing it into two portions, and finding that if you piece them together they will equal the whole.

It almost appears as if "energy" were not a single entity in nature, but as if there were two factors operating upon what we call matter, or perhaps we ought to say, co-operating with it, to build up the material world of the universe. Behind this inorganic world of atoms and molecules we have to conceive of ether, a duality, embodying matter (or mass), and energy, to use the general term, or what I would rather call—attractile power, for want of a better name; this ether I take to be still universally present, even permeating many, if not all, apparently solid bodies, capable of intense vibratory action, only held in check by what I term a creational principle, by "formalising energy." As to what this really is, it is only necessary to state that we can know no more of it, probably never will know more of it, than we do of "Life" or "Humanity," until we are "delivered as it were, from the shackles of the body," from our prison range of observation, perception, and rationality.

If we accept this view as a working hypothesis, we conceive of "formalising energy" marshalling the ether sub-atoms

* One of the latest contributions to physiological polarity is by Dr. Albert P. Matthews in the *Century Magazine* of March, 1902: "The Nature of the Nerve Impulse."

into their special atomic forms of the various elementary bodies, the sub-atoms being held in cohesion by their inherent attractile power, the attachment between conjoined atoms being due to formalising energy. Just as infinite combinations can be formed from any two unequal in varying numbers, as in the Morse code, etc., so we can conceive of atoms acquiring specific form as elementary bodies by equivalent combinations of unequal value of matter and attractile power in the ether sub-atom, the form of combination determining any one element's characteristics, this being due, as before said, to formalising energy. Adopting this view, it follows that no substance known to the material world can exist without a certain amount of formalising energy being incorporated with it, that without this minimum differing in various molecules according to their complexity in number of associated atoms, there would be a return to the primitive ether, to the possibly formless and void condition of the Hebraic Genesis. Then, as chemical change, or inter-molecular and intra-molecular action and re-action occurs, determined either by the negative and positive forces of any atoms, this polarity being due to the special arrangement referred to in atomic build caused by the various combinations of primitive matter and attractile power, or by the shock of ether waves set free (to a greater or less extent as manifestations of heat, light, or electricity), we would find formalising energy utilised, locked up, as it were, in the build of a molecule, the ether sub-atoms being more or less vibrant according to the amount so used, or more or less stationary according to the amount operating to steady them into quiescence. This seems to me to explain the tremendous amount of radiant energy in the hottest suns and comets, where the elements discoverable are always of simple type, of but little complicated build, where the greater part of formalising energy necessarily present in association with any materialised substance is free to so manifest itself:

as also the absence of change, such being due to the same principle, in the moon, where all formalising energy, beyond that requisite to preserve the build of the more solid elements, has radiated into space, or been absorbed by celestial bodies. It would also explain why, in complicated molecular groups, often really apparently composed of allied families of atoms, as the alcohol, carbo-hydrate, and benzyl groups, there is so much energy freed on their break up and return to less complex forms, for the greater the complicity of any molecule the more energy utilised in building up its special form. It seems to me that formalising energy sets to work, as it were, and in a process of evolutionary development builds up the ether sub-atoms from simple into gradually more and more complicated forms. We hence, in time, as regards celestial bodies, approach a period of balance in action and re-action as more and more of it becomes fixed in such duty, and then, as these complex forms break up, the causes usually being due to external sources of action from outside that special world, we enter on a process of degeneration due to dissipation of the energy formerly utilised by them.

Not only do we find sub-atoms built up into definite and different atomic elementary "forms," and not only are atoms arranged in definite groups as molecular "forms," but also we find groups of molecules arranging themselves along definite lines in unvarying geometric "forms" as crystals, with often peculiar relationships between allied forms as to their chemical characteristics and affinities. Thus, in regard to inorganic solids, we obtain two large divisions, judging by molecular grouping—the amorphous and the crystalloids. The fact that comparatively large ultra-molecular groups can be shaped, as in the case of suitable sandy particles on the eidophone, by rhythmical and harmonious action or shock of the sound waves generated by a musical note, in definite geometrical figures, would apparently point to the possibility of ether sub-atoms

being also definitely arranged into specific forms by the harmonious and rhythmical action of formalising energy upon the persistently vibrant ether wavelets.

We find in practical chemistry that two molecules of different substances may be virtually in contact, and yet no action or re-action take place, although the disjoined atoms of each have a greater affinity to the other than to their then companion, if they were dissociated from each other; in such cases, if a third molecule of certain other substances be introduced into contact, chemical change will take place not only between one of the original molecules and the strange one, but between the original two as well. This fact is explained by saying that atoms in the state of change, in the condition of momentary dissociation, technically, in their nascent state, are in an extremely active condition; in other words, I would say, that formalising energy is especially active whenever two groups of atoms are dissociated owing to some external impulse, and as they are being rebuilt into newer shapes or forms. There appears to be no question that the gaseous condition of matter, perhaps material is a better term, is evolutionary to one of fluidity, and that again to a state of solidity, all three overlapping each other and being intermingled, or action and re-action would almost cease if there were solidity alone, the condition of solidity being requisite for the manifestation of the definite, geometrical, and purposeable crystalloid forms. But beyond these complicated molecular builds of this class of formation, we come across another variety of "form," non-crystalline, still more highly complicated in structure, characterised by definite arrangement, with certain distinctive phenomena; these aggregations of molecules we state to be *organised* or cellular in form. Two gross differences between the inorganic crystalline aggregations of molecules, and the organic cellular groups, are that the former increase by mechanical aggregation of similar groups to similar groups, the

latter by incorporation of dissimilar groups into themselves and assimilative change into like groups; also by the former being virtually stationary, while the latter are able to change their position towards one another, either by direct mobility or indirectly through the assistance of associated groups specialised for that purpose.

The typical cell usually studied is that of the amoeba, which is also almost identical with the white corpuscle of the human blood; the substance it is composed of is designated protoplasm, as regards which Michael Foster says: "We do not at present know anything definite about the molecular composition of active living protoplasm; but it is more than probable that its molecule is a large complex one, in which a proteid substance is peculiarly associated with a complex fat and with some representative of the carbo-hydrate group, *i.e.*, that each molecule of protoplasm contains residues of each of these three classes." In protoplasm we also find very minute "quantities of various saline and other crystalline bodies," not chemically combined but probably floating between the protoplasmic molecules performing some definite and indispensable function, possibly in some way connected with the assimilation of foodstuffs and their change into the specially required form of protoplasm. Shortly, the characteristics of the simplest forms of protoplasm, whether animal or vegetal, itself composed of associated molecules of organic structure, namely, of proteids, carbo-hydrates, and fats, these molecules themselves being composed of associated atomic groups of much complexity, together with certain inorganic molecules permeating it, are as follows:—*It is irritable*, *i.e.*, re-acts to change in external environment; change in its external relations necessitates internal change as well; when it cannot so compensate the intra-molecular waste and repair ceases, the harmonious relationship of molecular association is dissolved, the result is death. *It is automatic*, *i.e.*, some inherent

property causes it to respond to outward change and to make up in repair from molecules received from outside for the destruction of its own molecules, for change external to its own structure necessitates internal change, it means the return of complex groups to simpler forms, and the liberation of formalising energy, corresponding to the amount causing this change. But part of the formalising energy freed is spent in re-building the wasted or lost protoplasmic molecules in the amoeba; and this very fact proves that it differs from the same principle in the inorganic world, in that like molecules are not marshalled into "form" with like, but that unlike seize upon unlike and change them into like. We cannot tell in what lies the cause of this difference; we do know that so it is. We designate the cause to be due to "Life," that chemico-vital change takes place as distinct from chemical alone. *Protoplasm is contractile*, i.e., mobile, except during the period of quiescence or sleep. By means of this contractility it not only meets the molecular particles acting as foodstuffs but flows round them, and incorporates them in its substance; its mobility is one manifestation of freed energy. *It is receptive*, in that it acts in this manner as regards its relationship to certain external particles; *it is assimilative*, in that it changes them into the molecular structure peculiar to itself. But the products of disintegration must be discharged, if protoplasm is to rhythmically carry on its functions; because it does rid itself of waste products *it is stated to be excretory*; the processes of this action are also termed metabolic and secretory, but in the more complex protoplasmic aggregations secretions sometimes are also concerned in assimilation in its earlier stages. *It is respiratory*; it absorbs oxygen, or carbonic acid, as the case may be, from the air, builds up its molecules into the material of one of the three great family molecules of proteids, carbo-hydrates, or fats, and excretes, as the case may be, carbonic acid or oxygen gas, the waste

product caused by the action of the oxygen or carbonic acid molecule on the protoplasmic cell. The respiratory processes are virtually a phase of the receptive and assimilative, and being automatic and constant, in the case of animal protoplasm at least, enable harmonious action and re-action to continue during the stage of quiescence or sleep, that is, whilst there is a rest from the absorption of foodstuffs ; without such continued correlation death would ensue. Lastly, *it is reproductive*, it gives birth to a fresh protoplasmic unit, carrying on with exactitude the functions of the minute mass from which it develops, a unit which increases in size by up-building itself as did its progenitor, in time splitting up into new cells, or casting off infantile buds from itself in turn. If fresh masses were not thus constantly cast off the ordinary fate of all complicated molecular material would befall it, there would be a return of the more complicated groups of molecules to simpler inorganic forms, for "Life" is no more eternal in keeping up correspondence between its special "form," that is, the complex protoplasmic molecule and the outer world, than is formalising energy constant and fixed as regards the inorganic molecules of more complicated atomic build.

What is this creational principle that we commonly term "Life"? We know something of its manifestations as enumerated above, and the highest forms only exhibit specialised varieties of the above characteristics, do we know anything of its intimate nature? I think not. We cannot find it by the dissecting knife or the microscope, by the chemical balance or electrical re-action, or by any known means whatsoever. Whatever it may be, we know that it is common to man and to brute, to the gigantic creature of the ocean as much as to the lowliest amoeba or bacillus, to the forest-tree and the minute algæ; concerning this community of life Socrates said: "But I, too, consider myself to be a fellow-servant of the swans, and sacred to the same God, and

that I have received the power of divination from our common master no less than they."

That life alone comes from life was established by Harvey, and the whole result of the consideration of spontaneous generation has only been to more than ever decide: "omne vivum ex vivo"; and the grandest result of Darwin's life work was to see the continuity of life throughout the vegetal and animal worlds accepted by most skilled minds; others had hinted at this, he produced the requisite overwhelming evidence. When we are told that life is "the sum total of the functions that resist death"; or by Mr. Herbert Spencer that it is "the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations"; or by Prof. Henry Drummond, when discussing degenerative processes, that: "Life is merely a temporary suspension of these destructive powers," we are told nothing as to its real nature. Whatever "Life" is, we know that it builds up the higher organic molecular form with certain definite characteristics from the inorganic world, utilising in so doing both the more primitive amorphous oxygen molecule and the later crystalline aggregates; we know that it ultimately ceases from causing the protoplasmic unit to correspond to the stimulus of these molecules in the required way, that then we get death. The lately living cells then become part of the inorganic world, other re-actions taking place in regards to outward change, such being only overruled before by "life"; then disintegration takes place from the more complex to the simpler forms, the products being again ultimately taken up and re-utilised in perpetual cyclical change. The health of the associated protoplasmic molecules consists in their unity, in their wholly acting together, in the wholesomeness of their harmonious inter-action and orderly behaviour one towards the other; once this rhythmical wholeness is lost the result is impaired function, and a certain amount of impaired function or imperfect

performance of duty results in death, or abolition of vital correspondences.

All living things, vegetal or animal, merely consist of aggregates of protoplasm; the smallest microcosm of an amoeba exhibits potentially the same functions as the highest aggregate of such cells, that being man himself; more than that, there is a time in the development of the largest macrocosm of organised protoplasm "when there are actually no structural peculiarities whatever—when the whole organism consists of transparent, structureless, semi-fluid living bioplasm—when it would not be possible to distinguish the growing moving matter which was to evolve the oak from that which was the germ of a vertebrate animal" (Lionel S. Beale, F.R.S., on "Bioplasm"). Says Huxley, in his "Lay Sermons," sixth edition: "Protoplasm, simple or nucleated, is the formal basis of all life. It is the clay of the Potter." He also states: "Beast and fowl, reptile and fish, mollusk, worm, and polype are all composed of structural units of the same character, namely, masses of protoplasm with a nucleus."

Looking down the vista of living forms, we can see that the simpler and less complex it is the weaker, the more limited and the more transient are its correspondences to changes in its material environment, and the easier does it refuse to adapt itself to the varying outside circumstances brought to its cognisance through sensation. We see "life" first in the homogeneous organised but structureless cell, with no difference between the outermost layers of molecules which have to preserve its individuality and the inner and more fluids groups, except that the minute endosarc differs from the ectosarc as the interior of a loaf from the exterior. Next, we find structure visible in the presence of a specially formed smaller mass within the endosarc, destined for the imperative duty of reproduction, in that it is ultimately extruded and grows into the like of its ancestor. Examination shows that

the growth of the nucleus, and enclosed nucleolus in the impregnated ovule in the animal kingdom, proceeds on definite lines and in fixed order, to be compared more than anything to the lines of crystallisation in the inorganic aggregate of molecules, or to the formations on the eidophone.

We may readily suppose that in the amorphous protoplasmic cells each molecule has the same potential characteristics, but constantly have various groups of molecules to take on a special variety of duty for the common welfare. Certain groups will become gifted with extra mobility, processes of such bud forth, and the cell moves. Certain groups form the nucleus to be concerned in reproduction, with certainly some analogous inherent characteristic as to arrangement, as played by polarity in the inorganic molecule, this manner of growth underlying sexual characteristics in the plant and animal kingdoms. Certain groups in the ectosarc will be specially concerned in sensation, in absorption of food particles and oxygen, or carbonic acid, and in excretion; others, more internal, in metabolism and secretion, every now and then group probably exchanging with group in ceaseless rhythm and harmony.

But the Law of Creation appears to be that there must be progressence, or evolution, from the simpler to the more complex "form"; why we cannot tell, except that man is the result of such an order. We next find cells, as a whole, taking on specialised function, yet still exhibiting, at least in potentiality, the characteristics of the original form. In the simpler Infusoria, we see the elementary gastric canal in the shape of a permanent mouth or opening into a central cavity, whose lining cells become specialised in assimilation, excretion, and secretion. A little higher groups of cells form embryonic limbs, in the shape of processes specialised for progression, or of filaments waving to and fro as arms to catch what they can. We find some one cell first specialised by probably

increased instability to protoplasmic explosions of energy, to act as an incipient brain to sensations reaching it through the outermost layer of cells; then a chain of cells between it and the outermost ones of the ectosarc are specialised to conduct the shocks of the outer world; lastly, certain cells of the ectosarc performing special duty in receiving such impulses. The next step in the development of this embryonic nervous system lies in specialisation of cells to perceive and receive light, sound, and change in temperature, and, higher still, to act as guardians against hurtful particles in deglutition and inhalation, to be concerned in the senses of taste and smell. As the alimentary canal develops, we find cells becoming more and more specialised to perform the duties demanded by the wider correspondences of the more complicated organism, with subdivisions into separate groups concerned in assimilation, absorption, secretion, excretion, and propulsion of food-stuffs and contingent waste products. We see the complicated respiratory tract developing from special molecules and afterwards cells of the ectosarc, and then the lining of the embryonic alimentary canal developing next, from cells which originally took upon themselves the functions of absorption and expiration of oxygen and carbonic acid in the animal kingdom; and of the opposite routine in the vegetal world, in the protoplasm of leafage especially.

We see the circulatory system develop, permeating the whole creature, from a few specialised mobile and irritable cells in the interior of the animalcule, thereby keeping up currents in the more fluid inner parts, to an incipient force-pump in the shape of these arranged coherently, pulsating in rhythm, and forcing on other cells specialised to be oxygen carriers throughout the organism, through channels composed of other cells specially shaped to be arranged in such form, endowed also with the necessary selective powers.

We perceive, starting with the original germinal bud with

contained molecules arranging themselves in definite form owing probably to inherent differences in polarity, a specialised reproductive system spring up with ultimately distinct cells with positive and negative re-action, this constituting the sexual difference, with other cells differentiated in higher forms to cause these former to be brought into contact, and others again arranged to protect the incipient embryo during development. Surrounding, permeating, enclosing, embracing, all these active and militant "forms" of protoplasm, we have others developing from the somewhat harder and more stable cells of the ectosarc (and a little higher we find trabeculæ of specialised cells projected between the exterior and the incipient alimentary canal), performing the passive but indispensable functions of incipient cuticle and its appendages, of fasciæ and elastic tissue respectively. A still more advanced stage is when the organism becomes so complex and extended in shape that it requires a mechanically rigid frame not only to hold together various other aggregations of cells, but to enable it to withstand the shocks consequent on excessive mobility; there then develops cartilage and bone. Lastly, in the animal world cells take on an elongated form with the object of being able to exhibit special mobility through approximation of their terminations, they are placed side by side and in columnar formation. The involuntary and voluntary muscular systems are now in process of development, the latter being specially under the control and at the service of the cells specialised in the nervous system to manifest desire or will.

It may sound absurd to say that the little and apparently inconsequent amoeba exhibits mind, or desire, or will; yet in potentiality I believe that such a characteristic is latent within it, is an unvarying accompaniment of life, only awaiting the opportunity of manifestation in specialised "form" of cell. This characteristic, of which desirous action is the ordered out

come, is that of the automatism of the individual and single cell of protoplasm. This term to the physiologist is not of the same significance as to the mechanician; it denotes "an action of a body, the causes of which appear to lie in the body itself" (*Michael Foster*). Although this eminent authority objects to there being any relationship between automatism and will, it is allowable to believe that the latter is merely a qualitative variation of the former, is the highest amplification of such an attribute, "will" being the action of specialised cells, "the causes of which appear to lie in the body itself."

Excluding man for the present, we find the points of mentality exhibited amongst the higher animals to be *memory, desire, reason,** these characteristics being manifested together with *consciousness* and *perception*. Starting with the lowest "form" of protoplasm, we find "consciousness" as the inherent characteristic whereby cellular aggregates of molecules are distinguishable from inorganic accumulations, this being manifested not only in the ability to "perceive" change of outward environment, but in the capacity of adaption by change internally to meet the new conditions of existence without total change in form; inorganic molecules when they feel a change in environment alter into a different form of molecular construction through chemical action, hence vital perceptivity is absolutely distinct from that of the inorganic molecule. Now, although there is present in primitive protoplasmic life this purposeable conscious perceptivity, there is also inherent to it the power of automatism, which is the attribute expanding and growing into desire in specialised cerebral tissue, and these features are common alike both to the animal and vegetal forms of protoplasmic aggregates. In the latter kingdom we perceive not only independent movement exhibited by certain parts of plants, as by the folding or drooping of leaves when deprived of the stimulus of sunlight,

* Chapter XII., Tables III. and XI.

or by movements connected with reproduction in regards to the specialised flower-cells, but by the independent Diatomeæ, Oscillatoriæ, and some lower forms of other algæ. The manner in which branches incline to the freest aspect for light and air; in which tendrils almost feel for support, exhibiting a form of polarity in their right to left movements; and in which some plants avoid self-fertilisation, seems to be characterised by something higher than mere mechanical arrangement, to be a manifestation in a shadowy and almost vitiated form of "desire" as we find it in the higher kingdom of life. With few exceptions all vegetal protoplasm is destined for a passive and stationary existence, its power of accommodation to change, to action and re-action, being limited, it really exhibits passive and circumscribed life, its chiefest function being to provide foodstuffs for militant or active forms in the animal world, to act as a go-between the inorganic and animal kingdoms, to utilise the latter's waste products and return them again for their assimilation and metabolism. This stationary characteristic is conferred upon it by the stability it inherently possesses owing to rigidity being conferred upon it, first, by interstitial deposition of lignin in the cellular membrane corresponding to the ectosarc of animal cells, then by its deposit on the inner aspect of this miniature dermo-skeleton, until ultimately in many forms the protoplasm is crushed out of existence, and wood is formed as a mechanical and almost non-vital tissue to act as a skeleton to certain living aggregates in specialised build and shape.

Specialised perceptivity to touch exists typically in the Sensitive Plant and in Venus' Fly-trap; in the former there is certainly transferred sensibility, for if you crumple up one division of a leaf the pinnules of all the other divisions will close up as well.* That means that molecular change proceeds from cell to cell in ordered rhythm and harmony. There are to

* Darwin worked out the detailed mechanism as regards the *Drosera*.

be noticed the facts also that the female or seed-bearing organs of a plant are usually placed centrally, protected by the other parts ; that not only is fertilisation of these parts necessary in most cases, for the development of a healthy plant, from the androecium of another specimen of the same species, but that in dimorphic plants there is illegitimate and comparatively unfertile union between pistils and stamens of the same form ; and that plants will not grow healthily under the shade of like, the re-action of one form tending usually to the development of a life-form of a different build in contact with it.

In the higher aggregates of animal protoplasm we find cells specially developed in the cerebrum and cerebellum, with the marked protection of the bony walls of the skull, to exhibit "*memory*" and "*reason*," in addition to the three fundamental characteristics of *consciousness*, *perception*, and *desire* or *will*. Plato's division of the mental powers of man into irritability, reason, and desire, was such as we can but little improve upon, irritability including both consciousness and perception, reason covering memory, intellect, and what we ordinarily term "*reason*" in the non-metaphysical sense. Just as specialised cells before we ascend very high in the animal kingdom manifest "*will*," so do others, or perhaps the corresponding ones in a more elaborated state, in higher forms manifest "*memory*" as well ; it appears to me that the faculty of memory must be prior and indispensable to reason. Cells that have once been disturbed in their chemico-vital equilibrium, and have the power, under influence of desire or will, to re-start those identical changes through some stimulus of one kind or another, are gifted with memory, and reason appears to be the harmonious comparison, weighing, and estimating of sensations actually being perceived from external influences, or recalled by memory.

That animals have all these faculties there is no question, I refer to the higher grades, and those that have the greatest

power conferred on them through some touch or handling organ possess the greatest intelligence, to use the ordinary phrase, I would prefer to say the greatest animal mentality, reserving the term intelligence to describe a special faculty of the human mind. Mr. Tylor, in his "Anthropology," says: "Not only do creatures of all high orders give unmistakeable signs of pleasure and pain, but our dealings with the brutes go on the ground of their sharing with us such complex emotions as fear, affection, anger, nay, even curiosity, jealousy, and revenge." Darwin's "Expressions of the Emotions" deals with this subject also.

Two animals, the horse and the dog, have attained to great mentality for brutes, without the ordinary dimensions-comparing organ; the change between the present-day race-horse and the Early Eocene fox-like Eohippus must have been due to persistent desire or will to escape from its foes, resulting in ever-changing build to swifter types; the dog, to judge by the cur-like wild varieties now extant, must have developed rather by wishing to obey man's training and orders.

The human brain differs from that of the highest brutes in the greater complexity and extent of the cells of the grey matter. We may conclude that they are specialised to manifest *intellect*, of which more in the next chapter. If there be harmonious, regular, and rhythmical action of outer forces and of internal memory on the specialised nerve cells of any creature, the result is pleasure, joy, harmony, good feeling, or happiness; if irregular and without natural rhythm, either in impact or in percipiency, or in mutual correlation when perceived, so is there disgust, ill-feeling, anger, envy, or wickedness, in any mentality.

We may now glance at the various aggregations of protoplasmic molecules considered physiologically. It is to be remembered that, although in any aggregate there may be specialisation for any one function, that all the other functions

relating to life are still performed by any one protoplasmic cell, the advantage of aggregation appearing to lie in this, that energy, formerly spent especially in production of vital heat, that heat being merely evidence of chemical activity, is conserved for some special function owing to the contact of cell with cell.

The amoeba we may take as the type of the protoplasmic unit or cell; next we find aggregated groups of like cells forming the fundamental tissues, as specialised skin, fat, hepatic, blood, nerve, and connective tissue cells. We next find aggregations in the shape of aggregated tissues allied for some mutual purpose into what are termed organs, as stomach, liver, brain, spleen, and eyes. In the stomach we find, for example, several tissues,—mucous lining, secreting cells arranged virtually as a tissue, connective, elastic, and muscular tissues. Lastly, we have the complete animal, when organs are allied together for mutual action, some one organ or group of tissues being specialised to differentiate the form of that creature from all others of different genera, stamping that animal with the impress of some distinct duty or place to fill in the world. At the head of all the animal "forms" we find man, specialised for some duty without question, and that apparently being to exhibit that faculty which differentiates him from all the brutes, what we call best by the name of humanity; to this end the physical perfection of his frame for mobility, the estimating of dimensions, and the utilisation of sensation; to the end that he may perpetually advance through desire and will is he feeble, defenceless, and helpless compared to many creatures in his physique and formation.

As before stated, the tendency of all material substances is to pass from complex to simpler forms in the long run, to dissolve, all complexity being due to some "creational principle" interfering to prevent this action. Why then this continual ascent under the influence of the creational principle

of life to higher and higher forms of greater and greater complexity of build and shape? Another thing to be noticed is that, as life forms become more and more complex, so do they become scarcer and scarcer. We have only to look, for example, at the various algae found in every sea, at the prevalence of the grasses, then at the lesser abundance of the forest trees, then at the countless animalcula embodied in the limestone strata, as well as in the coal deposits, at the innumerable herds of herbivorous pre-human animals, followed by the carnivora thriving upon them, down through present-day genera to man, to see that each higher order has had the world prepared for it by the life and existence of many other creatures, on the ruins of whose races they have risen into being and into action for others in their turn. Man is so scarce an animal that in regards to the population of the world, the following is true: "Give each person 27 cubic feet of room, and all could be packed in a cubic box of 1,140 yards, or two-thirds of a mile; this box could be deposited in Battersea Park, or occupy one-third the space of Hyde Park" (*J. Holt Schooling*).

Why this ascent in gradation and perfection of form until we find man in possession of the earth, the only creature gifted with the power to alter his natural environment, instead of simply accommodating himself thereto?

This ever-growing complexity has been attributed to the "Survival of the Fittest" and "Natural Selection," and, through no fault, I believe, of Darwin, the majority who know anything at all on these matters are accustomed to regard evolution as almost entirely due to changes external to the organism, and effected by new environment; in short, that the re-action resulting in change within the organism is ordered solely by outer stimuli. But this is neglecting altogether the idea of will being in existence, shadowy and universally pervasive of the protoplasm of the most primitive

life forms as it is, and in its first specialised condition in the lowest animals as distinct from the vegetal world. How the universal existence of desire or will throughout the animal world can be denied I cannot conceive of, as man himself passes through in his embryonic and pre-natal existence every stage of development which every other animal evolves through until he arrives at his own special grade; therefore will was once present in him in its simplest and most meagre condition. The tendency of modern science will be, I am convinced, more and more to show that all grave evolutionary steps take place in mentality first, in the desire to attain to this or that function and action; that through these vital processes the molecular forms are reconstructed and rebuilt into the necessary shapes and builds.

Edward Carpenter, in "Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure" (and the whole of this work is worthy of much attention), says: "Lamarck, poorly off, blind, derided, was a true poet. 'Animals vary from low and primitive types chiefly by dint of wishing'—and the world laughs, and still laughs." In this view, although the Fittest survives amongst animals as distinct from man, there is no "natural selection," as ordinarily understood, but *natural election* instead, the animal that cannot elect to desire change being, *ipso facto*, an unfit. Not but that environment has a marked effect; it affords the stimuli necessitating re-action; but I would say that generic changes are mostly of inherent growth due to exercise of will, specific changes next being mostly of external origin; *i.e.*, desire determines form and permanency of impress, environment only moulds form into more suitable allied shapes for the somewhat differing conditions under which that special form finds it has to live.

Biology says that *function precedes organisation*; and it seems equally clear that *desire precedes function*. What, then, brings desire into active play and purposeable activity? It

is discontent that does so ; it is the percipience of unharmonious, hurtful, or at least disagreeable unrhythymical environment, that brings into play the will or wish for change internally, so that the former rhythmical contact with the universe may be preserved. From this desire comes the altered functions, resulting in changed protoplasmic construction ; and, in higher life, in new organic development. It is the incessant play, counter-play, and inter-action of the infinite processes of the universe ; it is Nature, to use the conventional term, that is responsible for this often discontenting environment to all life, not with any chaotic and harmful intent, but with purposeable law and order underlying all change, for some vast, cosmical reason beyond our present range of vision. Pope had grasped the idea of evolution when he wrote : " All served, all serving : nothing stands alone ; the chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown."

Departure from the inability to meet new environment by new structural formation is unhealth, disease, unwholesomeness ; the organism, be it microcosmic or macrocosmic, does not exist then as one orderly, rhythmical whole. Says Herbert Spencer: " Perfect correspondence would be perfect life. Were there no changes in the environment but such as the organism had adapted changes to meet, and were it never to fail in the efficiency with which it met them, there would be eternal existence and eternal knowledge." In the simplest forms of life, equally with the highest, disease manifests itself under two chief aspects, under deficiency of repair, and under redundancy of growth, the integrity of the function of assimilation being the chief factor involved. In the former case perfect correspondence with the outer world ceases, being either due to inability to obtain the necessary foodstuffs, water, or oxygen, requisite to replace wasting protoplasm with that of equivalent formation, or to inability to either assimilate or absorb such necessities to constant life. A variation of this

morbid state, defect in reparation, is obtained when excretion fails and the other protoplasmic changes enumerated above cease, or are impaired, because that the whole molecular machinery is thrown out of gear. In these instances tissue of formation inferior to what is required is manufactured ; there is imperfect performance of function, premature decay, and ultimately death. This state of protoplasmic decadence is due either to want of vital energy, there having been formerly too great a functional demand for it; or to ordinary natural age, when the inherent vital energy stored up at birth in any protoplasmic unit approaches extinction, and the inevitable occurs in molecular construction passing from the complex to the simple. As Prof. E. Ray Lankester puts it as regards material structure : " We have as possibilities either Balance, or Elaboration, or Degeneration." I think we may lay it down as a Law of the material world of mind and substance that, *under changing environment impaired desire or will means imperfect function, imperfect function means imperfected organisation, imperfect organisation means approaching dissolution, all this being true whether any single cell or aggregate thereof is affected.*

Again, there is redundancy of growth, if there be too much foodstuff or other necessities absorbed, for then the energy at command cannot elaborate them up to the requisite standard ; and further, if this energy has been too much or too frequently spent through desire in performing one special function at the expense of other duties, we find active growths of inferior forms, of such activity that ultimately they encroach on allied groups of tissue, and by interfering in natural vital processes cause dissolution of the whole organism, and through that of themselves. The cancerous growths and allied conditions exemplify this state as the degenerative processes do that of the former class of disease ; the various inflammatory processes are elaborative to meet by change either some external

or some absorbed hurtful influences, and result either in resolution to the former state, in degeneration, or in redundancy of growth, according to the initial integrity of the parts affected and the amount and permanency of the hurtful stimuli.

We may also add that—*the more complex the structure of aggregated units, or any group, or organised aggregation thereof, with the greater ease and with less expenditure of vital energy are its vital functions performed; but if there be imperfect performance, with the greater ease is there resolution to simple forms and builds.*

Chiefest of material forms stands *man*, able to control and change his environment through his combined mobility, prehensiveness, and specialised mentality, fixed in impress of build because of this excessive power of correspondence, as an animal alone vanquishable by many animals; as a human creature lord of all material beings, the intensity of his reasoning mentality causing him to successfully overcome or circumvent all specialised brute force, his intellectuality affording him the power to bring natural forces into subjection to himself—"a being darkly wise, and rudely great."

CHAPTER II. COSMIC MAN.

Man possesses the highest and most complicated material form—he is the physically set animal—he progresses upwards in mental genera. Humanity—the attribute of the real man who is manifested in a material form—recognised by the cosmical senses. Materiality limits and renders imperfect the manifestations of the real, royal man. Intellect—the added increment differentiating man's mentality from that of the brute. Characteristics of human mentality in harmony and disharmony—results of perverted mentality in functional manifestation. The male and female variants of the human form—the effect on human offspring of the permanency of such variation. Physical characteristics cause generic variation in animals, intellectual characteristics the same in men—the genus puerile—genus adolescens—genus virile. The witnesses to the existence of God—Nature, inspired teachers, and Jesus—our ideas of God necessarily anthropomorphic and automorphic. Ancient writings—records—Inspiration. Jesus—question of His Divinity—Son of the Virgin Mary. The teachings of Christ not beyond the general mentality of His age—He could only say what men's relationship should be, leaving them to work out their own salvation in the State civil. The decadency of the human race alone stopped by Christ's teaching—Spiritual Re-form-ation.

Thought, conscience, will—to make them all thy own,
He rent a pillar from the eternal throne.

Made in His image, thou must nobly dare,
The thorny crown of sovereignty to share.

Think not too meanly of thy low estate,
Thou hast a choice, to choose is to create.

That one unquestioned text we read,
All doubt beyond, all fear above,
Nor crackling pile nor cursing creed,
Can burn or blot it: God is love.

—Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Work out your own salvation.—Paul.

“THE Earth,” says Carl Ritter, “was made to be the home of mind, soul, and character, and man was created to make this earth tributary to his largest growth in mind, soul, and character. In this sense the earth and its noble possessions are correlative. Each runs . . . his own course,

uses all the appliances of nature, all the help with which God invests him, and then ceases his mission here; but the earth remains, the home of advancing millions, helping all onward, and granting them new power to fulfil the noble purposes of life." Science only corroborates Goethe when he writes:—

"In air, and water, and on earth
A thousand forms come struggling forth,
In drought and damp, and heat, and cold."

Passing in mental review the infinite number of material forms exhibiting life, there can be no question but that man is gifted with the highest and most complicated organic build. Looking at those beings below him in the world of life, we perceive evolution of form from form to ever higher structure and range of functions, except in the case of those departures from normal where there is decadency instead of progressence from neglect of performing some duty, from neglect of exercising will or desire to overcome some obstacle or trouble of environment, from preference of parasitism to functional activity. But in Man we find that evolutionary development to higher forms is no more found in a material fashion, although there are several varieties of superficial differences; but at their greatest such differences mark no new departure in form, they are no more than an addition to or subtraction from tissues and cells common to all of this special class of being.

In a physical or material sense man is the set animal in build; environment does not influence him irresistibly as it does the animal brute, for he can usually influence environment instead. The brute, with changing re-actions upon himself, must either succumb as a genus or progress to more suitable form; the man, with persistently changing re-actions, counterbalances them by exertion without alteration in material generic form in the sense just mentioned, but, if he refuses to exercise his will, he becomes a decadent or parasite.

Why do I believe in a creation beyond that perceived by the action and re-action of the material substance of which my form is built, and beyond the rest of the universe perceptible by it? Is percipiency limited to protoplasmic action and re-action by the specialised senses and the original source of specialised irritability in the shape of muscular tonicity?

Because I simply do feel in contact with a world beyond the material world; because I know that there are influences or correspondences affecting me that brute life is indifferent to and not affected by; because I have a sense that I am a part irrevocable and indestructible of a cosmos that the animals perceive nothing of in the least possible manner; because, feeling this, I recognise that the real, the royal ego, transcends the laws of the material world, that it is in reality a part of an unseen universe, being limited and chained by my tenement's imperfections. If a man tells me that he does not feel likewise it is no proof that he may not do so in the future, nor that I do not feel as I state myself: I would answer him that his cosmical sense is either so stunted and dwarfed by heredity, disuse, or misuse, or is so immature in function that he cannot perceive the correspondences I do. Because the blind man cannot perceive it is no argument that sight does not exist in others; because the infant cannot see anything but a blurred world of light and darkness when it first utilises eyesight, because the average man is incapable of feeling the world of beauteous light and contour visible to the artist's sensibility, it is wrong to say that only the infant's idea or the ordinary man's experiences negative those of others.

But of the dimensions, form, and actuality of the real man we can in no wise judge, for our material senses only allow us to act and re-act upon substance itself, and whilst we live a material life, *ipso facto*, we are debarred from definite analysis of cosmical existence. We can lay this down as a law, that in each Kingdom of creation, the creational principle can

give a tremendous impress, in fact, does give all specific impress to the forms in that division of Nature, but enables us in no manner to judge accurately and definitely of the Kingdom next above it.* As "Life" stamps the impress of its action upon the inorganic forms, but does not enable the animal to understand man in the least, so does "Humanity" stamp its impress upon Man, without giving him capacity to understand his form or being in a higher state, that is, when the natural process of degeneration has been consummated in the freeing of the real man from his temporary medium of manifestation, the material body.

Man's mentality differs from that of the brute in the added increment called "Intellect," and this characteristic appears to me to be to the cosmical man what mentality of the brute type is to the animal, to the vertebrates as distinct from the invertebrates, to cover, expand, almost revolutionise those material characteristics, in addition to possessing the peculiar faculty of idealisation, and of dealing with abstract and self-imagined subjects and sensations.†

The cosmical man possesses his consciousness, distinct from that of protoplasmic origin, one influencing the other, the former almost able to neutralise the latter; he has percipency, will, memory, and reason, all of a higher caste, all capable of indefinite exaltation beyond mere protoplasmic mentality, all profoundly influencing this latter in its manifestations, all bound down to a certain elevation and capacity because they can only be manifested through the channels of protoplasmic change, and are limited by its materiality. Beyond these equivalent manifestations of protoplasmic mentality we find in ourselves those intellectual faculties differentiating man from the animal, not originating in protoplasm, but exhibited through it in the specialised grey brain cells of man. When harmonious relationships are observed between the various

* Chapter XII., Table I.

† Chapter XII., Table III.

attributes of cosmical mentality, each performing its due share of action upon the world, each duly re-acted upon, the result is spiritual harmony, there is joy, peace, justice, meekness, charity, patience. Under unharmonical conditions, due to various causes, we have fear, doubt, anxiety, worry, injustice, and all other evidences of an unholy human mentality ; these conditions being partly extrinsic, partly intrinsic in origin. The former source is due to other people departing from the state of natural wholesome mutuality in regards to any one ego, the latter is due to some abnormality either in function of mentality of either variety or in the mechanism of exhibition. All cases influencing chemico-vitally the cerebral protoplasm and causing departure from normal, *i.e.*, all varieties of brain-tissue disease cause the latter state, that of physical as distinct from psychical insanity. Hence the assertion of Socialists that until all the natural requirements of life necessary for healthy existence are insured without *toilsome* struggle, that no higher life can be led by the ordinary being in competitive existence, is founded on scientific fact. (In this sentence "insanity" is used in the sense of unsoundness or any departure from healthy cerebral life.)

Just as excessive elaboration of any one of the primitive functions of a protoplasmic cell, through too much desire or will, or of any aggregate of specialised cells, leads up to permanent hyperactivity and disorganisation resulting in premature degeneration ; and as want of will or parasitic life leads at once to functional atrophy, so do we find analogous states of disordered brute mentality. There are the states of egoistical consciousness and perceptivity, resulting in, as an ultimate phase, self-centred insanity ; of animal desire, resulting in drunkenness, gluttony, and sexuality ; of disordered memory and reason, resulting in perversion of these faculties, usually to some base personal use or desire.* Running

* Chapter XII., Table X.

analogous courses we find the real, cosmical man, with disordered "Intellect," his Humanity being defective in its co-ordinating operations: perfect Humanity knows no law but that of mutual love, support, and labour, with all other beings. Disordered cosmical consciousness and percipency means want of manly gentleness, it means self-assertive and overbearing individuality; disordered will means greedy acquisitiveness, overweening pride, and the life of the intellectual sensualist; disordered cosmical memory and reason is responsible for most of the social crimes and evils inflicted by the intellectual ruling classes on their fellows, just as the want of exercise of these faculties in proper manner has resulted in a slave-class in civilisation, who can hardly be roused owing to the stunting and dwarfing by atrophy of their "Intellect." Again, too great exercise of the idealistic faculties with want of contact with the everyday world leads up to genius run riot and fanatical insanity; too little exercise in reaching outwards to the Unknown will, if these faculties be chiefly self-centred and the other attributes of cosmical mentality be directed alone materially downwards, only result in atrophy of that portion of Humanity that recognises the God in man by actual perceptivity. However much the learned intellectualist strives to find God within himself through material correspondences he cannot succeed, he cannot advance beyond Agnosticism, for the correspondences of the Unknown lie outside of the material man; his search at best must be only negative in result.

The Greek philosophic idea of the cosmical man was the virilely virtuous man, the man of "wisdom, temperance, courage, justice, and holiness," to use the Socratic list of virtues—these were the attributes of the sane, whole, sound intellect. The diseases of mentality due to hypertrophy or excessive function chiefly spring from an idler life, labour in contact with others, for others as well as self, being the scientific remedy; those

primarily due to atrophy either through advanced parasitism in both slaver-caste and slave-class, and due to mechanical one-sided labour or excessive exhausting work in the latter division of mankind, are only remediable in one case by the death of those so far degenerated, or by rational rest and stimulating example to form the requisite new correspondences of a fuller life in the other case. In the case of disordered animal mentality, manifested by some special abnormal desire in excessive function, the only remedy lies in absolute physiological rest of that appetite; hence, for example, total abstinence for drunkards, the fasting in gluttonous natures enjoined by primitive Christianity, and the vow of celibacy enforced upon its clergy later on in an age of extreme sexual sensuality, only proceeded on perfectly true lines of experience. The principles of discipline, contentment, and religion, represent the deepest wants of Humanity. Discipline is only granted through labour in contact with others, and that is the only means of bringing you into contact with a wider environment than granted by a self-restricted field of work; coming closer to your fellows means a closer contact with God, to recognise which attitude is religion itself; from this knowledge and feeling of harmony alone comes real peace of mind, contentment, and joy.

That the cosmical man is the real man, the kingly royal man, is a belief not yet recognised by the generality, owing to the crystallised animistic ideas of our barbarian ancestors, adopted of necessity in the "soul" of the early Christian Church; but that such is the case was felt by men as Plato, Plotinus, Socrates, Swedenborg, Bacon, Pascal, Milton, and Carlyle, who all believed that "the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."

Man forms a kingdom by himself in creation by virtue of his special creational principle of Humanity; I believe that

men, during their terrestrial life, can be divided into two Orders with distinct cosmical organisation, into the Spiritual and Material orders. The former, I believe, cannot be attained to until maturity, although sometimes there are some who enter upon it at an early age indeed; of its characteristics more further on.

As stated, man is now the set or fixed animal in physical form; he was not always so, and could not be in that condition until his intellect attained to sufficient strength and vigour to enable him to overcome unharmonious and distressful environment. In the first few pages of Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology" we have a markedly lucid description of the attitude towards each other of the ants, bees, and wasps, wherein he describes the variant individuals of these creatures as descending from one source: "For each of these societies is in reality a large family. It is not a union among like individuals substantially independent of one another in parentage, and approximately equal in their capacities." In these creatures the difference is not specific as to form, but they are virtually variants of the same form performing special duties in perpetuating their species.*

There are two variants of the form of man, the male and female, differing markedly from the equivalent variants of any form in the animal kingdom, except they be decadents and animalised. In animals the two variants are usually as regards sexual life absolute neuters except at a certain time or certain times of the year, where this is not so the special function of the animal then is to persistently propagate their kind owing to environment causing excessive waste of this special creature. On the other hand the two variants of the human form are, if in a state of evolution or progressence, in neither of these conditions, and they retain their functional life for a long period of years, usually under normal control, with the

* See page 56.

result that during the years of child rearing each parent is definitely stamped mentally and intellectually with the distinctive characteristics of their sex, and are able by educational action to impress their special features on their offspring. This is to the latter's great advantage, for experience alone gives permanent intellectual form; this is aided by the long adolescent period of the immature being, and tends to the development of inherited ability and aptitude, without which we could not have perpetually advanced as we have done; without this we would have had fixed intellectual form probably as well.

Physical characteristics confer generic distinctions upon animals; the possession of intellect to various degrees confers generic peculiarities upon men.* I would divide mankind into three genera, according to the capacity of "Intellect," recognising that its application depends upon education by experience and by heredity of the physical senses and animal mentality, this again upon the world of experiences, sequences, sensations, and actions upon or to any individual. In the child, a being believing chiefly in direct sensibility, and but little controlled by a rational mentality, intellect is almost absent; in the adolescent it makes its presence felt, but its conclusions and applications are of necessity immature; there is here sensibility of aided perceptivity and training, expanded by analogy and actual experience; this stamp of intellect is chiefly deductive. Lastly, in manhood it reaches its fullest capacity, but only where there has been education, experience of the world, contact with mankind, and an attitude of desirous investigation sufficient to strengthen and develop it. And these necessary factors for development have only been the privilege of a few classes up to the present, such inductive intellect having almost invariably been utilised only to degrade and brutalise mankind through

* Chapter XII., Tables II., V., VII., XIV.

the formation of a slave-class with narrow and puerile environment.

Of the mature members of the human race a majority are yet forming the *genus puerile*; the large minority yet constitute the *genus adolescens*; a small minority of the whole compose the *genus virile*.

I would take it that the primitive stock were originally in the intellectual state of the *genus puerile*, a condition not incompatible with humane behaviour and religious feeling; that as new stocks developed from the original family specific differences due to environment manifested themselves, a variety of causes checking, aiding, or hastening evolution in generic caste where the sum total result was not that of balance, until in a few nations—those of Northern Europe and their descendants elsewhere—we find within the last generation the majority entering into the intellectual caste or form of the *genus virile*. The fact that some stocks, as the Negro and Melanesian, have few members indeed of the *genus virile* is not due to their specific characteristics, but to the fact that the same climatic and other causes that have resulted in their special type have been such as to cause them on the whole to make but little effort for advancement, for upon Natural Election does the differentiation to higher form depend in the human creature. Just as probably the highest animal form developed originally from the lowliest, and as the germ cell of the lowest creature differs only in original impress from that of man, so has the highest intellectual caste developed from the most puerile, and so does the germ cell of the lowest intellectual type only differ from the highest in original impress of formation.

Why do I believe in God?

I am under the influence of three witnesses—the evidence of Nature, of inspired teachers, and of Jesus, the Messiah, whose life is an historical and undisputed fact.

THE EVIDENCE OF NATURE.—Those whose want of the cosmical percipency, or whose perverted or abortive perceptivity thereof, prevents them from feeling the presence of God, of an Intelligence as far superior to ours as the light of the sun to that of the moon, admit the necessity in material science of a Prime Cause of all things, that “nihil ex nihilo” holds good in material creation. The priesthoods of the ancient mythologies, probable successors of a purer theology, in the genesis of each form of faith believed in an individual God ruler almighty over their gods, as far as we can see; as they prostituted their power from ministry to clerical dictatorship, so they lost sight of the earlier traditions, although often worshipping Nature in various ways as a manifestation of something they knew not what.

The books of Job, and of the Psalms of David and others, are full of a Glory revealed through natural phenomena and life, and many are the modern-day poets who show how man “looks through Nature up to Nature’s God”; Pope comparing the unreality of the world to that of the material medium of human manifestation by saying: “All are but parts of one stupendous whole, whose body Nature is, and God the soul.”

Recent science—the last century has been *the age* of knowledge because it has been inductively sought—only seems the more and more there is known to proclaim more than ever the feeling that there exists a Supreme Power above all we know by material means. Some sciences, in the crudeness of immaturity, have appeared to negative this idea; some powerful intellects, forced to the far extreme in revolutionary rebound from the demand of ecclesiasticism for unreasoning, enervating faith, have combated it and do so still, their refusal to reach out in cosmical percipency by the function of prayer as assuredly culminating in functional atrophy of

that portion of their intellect (cosmical percipency) as when any mental or physical duty is shirked.

To my mind it is in no manner adverse to a Creator's power to think of Him as introducing into creation special creational powers at suitable periods ; it is absurd for the minute fraction as we are to try to understand the Infinite whole, "to vindicate the ways of God to man," to say in what manner the act of creation should have been performed and ordered. "As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts," wrote one ancient agitator in his vindication of his God.

Of necessity our idea of God must be anthropomorphic, and humanly anthropomorphic ; we cannot say what He is—only what He impresses us as being. The crystal feels the impress of Life when utilised by a plant, but cannot tell what Life is ; the animal feels the impress of man's intellect upon it, but cannot tell what humanity is ; we feel the hand of God, but cannot imagine it forth except in automorphic phraseology and thought.

THE EVIDENCE OF INSPIRED WRITERS.—In considering the books that form the Bible it is absurd to look at them other than in ordinary reason as we would criticise other works of like nature. If I am told that I must believe every word as it there appears, I must refuse to believe in the inspiration of the Bible altogether. To say that God guided men as machines in writing these books, and subsequently in compiling them and in interpretation therefore, is to make God responsible for all the barbaric wars and murders, all the cruelties of despotic justice, all the insults inflicted by Eastern law upon womenkind, all the evil customs, as burning of witches, torturing of prisoners, and extermination of an enemies' family recorded therein ; all contradictory evidences of a Just and Merciful Creator.

What these writers—many of them agitators of a virulent type, to use the present-day description of men who stir up the people—were divinely inspired in was the attitude of God towards mankind, not what man thought of God, or likened Him unto. We cannot be other than automorphic; to quote “The Autocrat”: “There is not a single religion in the world which does not come to us through the medium of a pre-existing language; and if you remember that this language embodies absolutely nothing but human conceptions and human passions, you will at once see that every religion presupposes its own elements as already existing in those to whom it is addressed.” God allows man to work out his salvation in the State civil by evolutionary desirous striving; and because special writers relate of customs and laws of cruel and blood-thirsty ages, it does not follow that God was to blame for such a state—it only shows that man, having created God in his own image and form, did not recognise that he himself was to blame. Human progressence in evolutionary rhythm and method of growth has always been allowed to follow its own course in natural law and sequence: “Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfil,” said the Chief of the prophets and the Prince of agitators.

C. 7

Holding this view, that there was only vital inspiration on the points man could not conceive of, the attitude of God to man, it follows that allowance must be made for human fallibility in compilation, interpretation, elisions, additions, and personal comments of others than the original writers of each work. Not only does the significance of later New Testament appear to corroborate the older Scriptures; but modern research in ethnology, in ancient custom and law, in the stone-written records, and olden Oriental history, all seems to tend to rational confirmation of these special books.

THE THIRD WITNESS IS JEŠUS THE NAZARENE, the only

direct link between God and man, who testified: "Neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him." In considering the evidence of this more than prophet, the whole question appears to hinge on the paternity of Christ, He calling Himself God's Son in a direct and unequivocal sense; for if we cannot conceive of His direct Godhood, we must refuse to believe in His mission as superhuman altogether; and if we can believe in so stupendous a miracle, we have authority for all the other wonders recorded as performed by Him. To many minds the solution is one of faith, "I believe"; to others the question comes home in this manner as regards His maternity. Has it ever been known of for any woman to bring forth a child without some man being responsible with her for its birth and existence? In technical terms—is it conceivable that the changes resulting in fertilisation, and subsequent growth of an embryo in the protoplasmic cells of the female specialised in function for that purpose, could occur other than from contact with the male cells specialised in like manner? If we judge by material phenomena the answer must be—No. But if we believe God to be omnipotent, to retain all the power He possessed before creation, to be able to interfere and create now as "in the beginning," I think that to the above questions we must say—Yes.* For if the primitive ether atoms still exist and permeate the natural world, no matter what they really be, we have only to conceive of the will of God forming directly out of them the necessary spermatozoic protoplasm by direct command instead of in the usual routine and order, and that in this manner germination could take place. And this also would cover all other miracles, even to the extent of new tissue replacing that of disease, of living tissue supplanting that of death, or of the formation of a new limb or a healthy organ.

* See pages 74, 75, quotation from Bishop Temple and comments.

Viewing the cosmical man as the real man, and as an emanation from God attached to each suitable physical form, we can then believe that the cosmical essence attached to the form born of the Virgin Mary was a very special visitant and offspring of God Himself.

To the opinions urged that there is a want of harmony in certain details of the Gospels, and that the apostles and Christ Himself helped to perpetuate by their stated opinions certain undesirable customs and opinions, the answer is that just given in regards to the older Testament writers. To the statements that Christ perpetuated by His want of condemnation certain superstitious ideas and customs, I would only reply that people cannot understand revelation of natural law and phenomena beyond their existing capacity—"I have told you of earthly things, and ye believe not." The fate of the man in advance of his age is always the same—"Neither did His brethren believe in Him." Nor was it the Messiah's duty to abolish the then civil aggregates of men and bring about the era of ordered anarchy, of the rule of Love, out of its due place in human progressence, the reason being, "My kingdom is not of this world"; and until men were able, had the requisite will, to build up a higher form of government than despotism, it was duty in the rhythm of evolution to "Render to Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's."

His mission to man, as proved by the unique result of life-work, was to preach the commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, . . . and thy neighbour as thyself." And how that has to be done is explained by—"That ye love one another, as I have loved you." But few of the clergy of the Vested Interests preach this to their so-called Christian flocks, else Socialists would not now be making the demand of "equality of opportunity" for all as one of their premier demands; and, if they only believed in that, "it is better to give than to receive," we would never have the outcry of cultured

intellects concerning the injustice of "equality of reward" for varying abilities, which condition we state would be the inevitable ultimate outcome of equality of opportunity.

Without Christ's witness of God's command we would never have overcome the disastrous results terminating in decadency which were the outcome of self-will, the cause of sin, of slavery, mental, physical, and political. That God was so angry with the world of men that He refused to be pleased again except by the death of His Son, I believe is an imagination of a priesthood-caste thinking of God on man's own automorphic scale of pettiness and spite, anxious to have some vindication of their existence as a special mediatorial class. That Jesus did save mankind by His message of Love, breaking down thereby the illth-producing barriers of class and caste, race and nation, slaver and slave, this religion and that religion, I firmly believe, but His death was merely the natural termination of the Agitator's life; He saved by His life example, not by a sacrificial death.

And His message was that mankind can be reformed, can be born again, as it were, by accepting Him, and only by faith in His message of love; that all they need do to become members of the Spiritual Order of Man is to admit His love as the prime orderer of the cosmical essence of man. Admit His power into oneself, and there is a re-form-ation of the cosmical intellect into perfect harmony and rhythm, into natural law and order, and since it is the creational power of a higher kingdom than man, of the Spiritual, it rises superior to ordinary natural instincts and desires. The disordered, unharmonical Intellect of the drunkard is re-arranged; the sensualist is a sensualist no more; the criminal cannot commit crime; the greedy "covetous machine" no longer lives to amass wealth; and the pride of Intellect becomes meek and lowly. More than that, he cannot but be Humane, for upon him is the original impress of the source of all Love; he feels

with the Psalmist—"All is vanity," and sees that "Love" is more than ever the motive power of his life, and the only thing worth living and dying for.

This is not the condition of the good, moral, and intellectual man; he is usually, if not always, the product merely of a cotton-wool environment suitable to his special form of Intellect, the fortunate being whose weak points and places have favourable statical environment; he is merely the being of whom the Greeks said: "They are for the longest time best whom the gods love." Spiritual life is human progressence in advancing dynamical equilibrium, hence the power by which its draws all men by the other-worldliness of its character; hence, being a process of growth and not of self-willed manifestation, we have to obey, not to direct the processes of its elaboration, any more than the plant could grow aright by directing its vital power, or the crystal form in proper build by superintending its formalising energy.

Self-will and existence for the benefit of the unit-man led to human decadency; a life of desirous striving for the beneficence of the mass-man and the human race alone leads to human progressence; the organic relationship of all men was never taught before the time of Christianity as a corporate duty.

"From first to last," said the great Napoleon, on one occasion, "Jesus is the same; always the same—majestic and simple, infinitely severe and infinitely gentle. Throughout a life passed under the public eye, He never gives occasion to find fault. The prudence of His conduct compels our admiration by its union of force and gentleness. Alike in speech and action, He is enlightened, consistent, and calm. Sublimity is said to be an attribute of divinity: what name, then, shall we give Him in whose character were united every element of the sublime?"

"I know men; and I tell you that Jesus is not a man.

Everything in Him amazes me. His spirit outreaches mine, and His will confounds me. Comparison is impossible between Him and any other being in the world. He is truly a being by Himself. His ideas and His sentiments; the truth that He announces; His manner of convincing; all are beyond humanity and the natural order of things.

"His birth, and the story of His life; the profoundness of His doctrine, which overturns all difficulties, and is their most complete solution; His Gospel; the singularity of His mysterious being; His appearance; His empire; His progress through all centuries and kingdoms;—all this is to me a prodigy, an unfathomable mystery.

"I see nothing here of man. Near as I may approach, closely as I may examine, all remains above my comprehension—great with a greatness that crushes me. It is in vain that I reflect—all remains unaccountable!

"I defy you to cite another life like that of Christ!"

CHAPTER III. SOCIAL MAN.

Healthy man social—unsociality a disease. The premier alliance of all is that of sex. Herbert Spencer on brute sociability. Monogamy most advantageous—due to Christianity, not to Intellect. In animals there is rarely any sociality beyond the blood-bond—in man the principle spreads far beyond. Intellect so far almost always prostituted for gain and profit, not spent in human service. Lower Savagery—human beings in decadency, Higher Savagery—the state of primitive man—all these in genus puerile. Mental striving causes some to attain to higher genera—families higher in generic form become ruling and co-ordinating castes—hence the aggregations firstly of Lower Barbarism (the clan)—next of Higher Barbarism (the tribe), descriptions of these. Early in human history some families fell away from knowledge of the Divine through functional atrophy of their cosmical being, some progressed,—then almost all fell away too in time—results of this on material progress. The treatment of all conscious of their divinity. When a sufficiency of families enter the genus virile we attain to the stage of Lower Possessionalism or Feudalism,—the land-owning caste the chief surplus-value takers. Feudalism atrophies or ends in anarchy—Higher Possessionalism or Commercialism arises—a plutocracy becomes the chief surplus-value taking class. The stage of Socialism comes when the majority in a country become members of the genus virile.

Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that—
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
When man to man, the warld o'er,
Shall brithers be for a' that.

—*Burns.*

Civilisation itself is nothing but an ever-widening co-operation.

—*Fabian Tract.*

ONE of the greatest characteristics of man in a natural frame of mind is his sociability, his inherent desire for contact and for companionship with others of his kind; where this feature is absent he may be looked upon as a member of a decadent species, or of an artificially created aggregate or group, with interests antagonistic to those he either refuses to associate with or

dare not approach. In other words, when his internal relationships are in harmony with his external relations he is natural and sociable; when his internal and external relations in mutual action and re-action result in disharmony and in irregularity, either due to his own fault, or the fault of his human environment, or both together, the consequence is unsocialism, is distrust, fear, hatred, and cruelty.

Just as the molecule is the physical unit in the inorganic world; just as the aggregate of molecules, specially marshalled by Life into the protoplasmic cell, constitute the unit in the kingdom of vegetal and animal life, so is man the unit in the world of humanity.* And as molecules are composed of atoms which cannot exist apart, and as all but the lowest of life aggregations need mutual association at least temporarily to fulfil their principal life purpose of breeding and rearing their young, so do we find man needing association with the female variety of his species before his life can be lived to the fullest.

This mutual alliance of man and woman is the premier, the primitive, and the most primæval, of all sociability; and, just as it differs in degree and permanency from that of the brutes, so is the evolution of the human race advantaged; the more it approximates to brutality, the greater the stasis at the best, and the more the decadency at the last. There are mutual alliances amongst other creatures: Mr. Herbert Spencer's description of the social insects has already been referred to.† Here special variants co-operate to produce young, store up food, and build shelters. But he also describes not only mutuality between variants of common parentage, but between individuals of the same species differentiated themselves into complete but specialised units.

"Some birds form communities in which, beyond mere aggregation, there is a small amount of co-ordination. Rooks furnish the most familiar instance. Amongst these we see such

* See Chapter XII., Tables I., II.

† Page 44.

integration as is implied by the keeping together of the same families from generation to generation, and by the exclusion of strangers. There is some rude form of government, some recognition of proprietorship, some punishment of offenders, and occasionally expulsion of them. A slight specialisation is shown in the stationing of sentinels while the flock feeds ; and there is usually an orderly action of the whole community in respect of times of going and coming. Clearly there has been reached a co-operation comparable in degree to that shown to us by those small assemblages of the lowest human beings in which there exists no governments."

"Gregarious mammals of most kinds display little more than the union of mere association. In common tendency towards supremacy of the strongest male in the herd we do, indeed, see a faint trace of governmental organisation. Some degree of co-operation is shown for offensive purposes by animals that hunt in packs, and for defensive purposes by animals that are hunted. . . . Certain gregarious mammals, however, as the beavers, carry social co-operations to a considerable extent ; and their joint actions yield remarkable products in the shape of habitations."

Looking closely at the subject of animal sociability, I think we may see clearly the following features. Occasionally there is a monogamous and permanent union between two variants of the same species ; usually the sexual relationship, the pre-eminent duty of animal life, is a matter of more or less temporary arrangement, often of promiscuity ; amongst the species of men we find exactly equivalent states, least common amongst the members of the *genus virile* is either promiscuity or temporary marriages. But even here the permanent monogamous marriage is rarely a voluntary association except under the influence of Christianity, either due to direct impulse or to inherited consent thereto. Intellect alone has never consented to this arrangement, but has rather been utilised to bring about, by "survival

of the cunningest," the usual equivalent to "survival of the strongest" amongst animals, unlimited promiscuity for the man and compulsory morality for the slave caste of women whom he might own, the analogous condition being that of the king of the herd.

The next social aggregate amongst animals is that of clan-like groups, probably sprung from a common ancestry, but the "recognition of proprietorship" only extends to a personal claim to accumulated products of exertion. When any creature has acquired a sufficiency it never occurs to them to continue collecting more and more and defending it except others requiring such wealth pay a tax for it; this attitude was left to perverted and degraded intellect to conceive of.

Beyond that we find a "union of mere association," never conceived of or attempted excepting under the pressure of distressful, injurious, and hurtful environment, hunger being one phase of such a condition. Remove the environment and the association falls to pieces; let it be still existent and it remains. The desire leading up to this phase of sociality springs totally from external injurious re-action; there is no further object than individual benefit and profit; there is no "Intellect" to turn it into a channel profiting one or more at the expense of others.

But in mankind we find an inherent, intrinsic, unconscious desire for ever-widening aggregations of human units, with the knowledge, often instinctive rather than rational, that ever-increasing beneficence can be gained thereby; we also find, looking down through the natural history of man, that the merely intellectual classes have ever prostituted their power to perfecting their own genus in sociability with the object of bringing into total subjection those of a less advanced nature and character. In so doing they have always worked out their own ruin in the end; there has always ultimately been a period of transition for the servile classes with evolutionary growth to higher and wider aggregations of men.

I think we may state that animals exhibit only primary or family aggregations for social purposes, with alliances, temporary or permanent, for certain reasons as determined by environment: but that mankind alone exhibits complex aggregations—that is, of groups within groups, and groups over groups, not wholly depending upon environment, but partly upon an inherent tendency to progress where intellect is not prostituted to individual profit and gain, all ease and well-faring gained by others and enjoyed by one because he can so arrange it being of such nature.

Starting with the idea that the primary mutual alliance amongst human creatures is the sexual one, that the most primitive group is that of man, woman, and immature descendants, or amongst degraded human species, an aggregate as regards the adults either polyandrous, polygamous,* or promiscuous; the question naturally occurs as to what were the social relations of man in his earliest days. Says Mr. Herbert Spencer: "There are sundry reasons for suspecting that existing men of the lowest types, forming social groups of the simplest kinds, do not exemplify men as they originally were. Probably most of them, if not all of them, had ancestors in higher states. . . . It is quite possible, and, I believe, highly probable, that retrogression has been as frequent as progression."

The very fact that the races in the social stages of what we will call Lower Savagery are almost universally dying out appears to be sufficient to stamp primitive man as descending from a higher social phase of life; this we will call by the name of Higher Savagery. It will be necessary to put away from the terms savagery and barbarism the common ideas of brutality, ferocity, and disorder, often attached to these words. Such characteristics are not the cause of this or that form of social organism, but are merely prominent symptoms thereof.

I apply the term Higher Savagery to those people with whom

* The unmoral code of barbarism is not referred to here.

the simple clan organisation is the form of their social state, and there appears to be no reason why this should not have been the condition of primitive man, the only aggregate known to him being that of the natural one of people related by blood from ancestors only one or two generations removed from the majority of the group. Not a few of the "backward" races in the world are yet in this condition, almost invariably in that of the *genus puerile*, for the progression of an individual into the *genus adolescens* means that a ruling caste will soon spring up and a higher aggregate than that of the simple clan appear. In this latter group, to judge by present-day people in this stage of evolution, the Esquimaux being one of the most marked races in this condition of existence, we find, owing to the average intellectual equality of all adults, that monopoly by one individual or by a caste in either power or property is unknown. (The civilised variety of this race is not referred to.) When combined mutual action is required in any simple clan, the best man takes charge, that is, the one best for the special purpose in view, usually a senior by virtue of experience ; but all adults appear to be on an equality in any council or debatable matter. Hunting grounds, whether in the tropical woodlands or the snow-driven shorelands, are common in use, the possibility of any one person only permitting use of a special portion by reception of a toll on the proceeds of others' exertions being unknown. All products of labour, including food, the larger canoes, houses, are common in use for the family, being shared or owned in common ; only what a person can utilise himself or herself, as clothing, ornaments, weapons, are individual property. In short, there is individualism in property for use,* none in property for profit ; the essence of which consists in taking something produced by labour and giving nothing likewise produced by the recipient in return. In this stage the position of women compares favourably with that of men, excepting where

* For personal use.

physical force grants to a man the license which that same power enables him to deny to a woman ; in this sense womenkind are his slaves. The monogamous union is usually a matter of preference only on the part of the stronger person, entered into without any special volition on the woman's part, terminated at pleasure by the man. Children are the possession of the family jointly, although reared by the parents, partly from the difficulty of settling the paternal ancestry ; old people, when food is sufficiently abundant, are jointly supported. There is virtually no differentiation of the adults into specialised units of labourers, and slavery as we understand it is absent ; for, owing to every person having to work his best to obtain the necessities of life, there is no time in which a special caste of idler slave-drivers could arise ; and further, in the life of the chase, the chiefest form of labour, slaves could not be retained. Such clan groups are almost always isolated from others, and where warfare has arisen they are perpetually estranged from almost all other like people.* Such is the Higher Savage as we can trace him by his present-day types, none being known except with very limited ideas of morality—in fact, he is usually unmoral rather than immoral ; having no percipency except through an immature cosmical nature, he conceives of no attitude of right and wrong other than dictated by sensations being pleasurable or otherwise. Conscience is unknown in the *genus puerile* except it be inculcated by precept and teaching, and the idea which we term religious never rises beyond that of a Creator and a future state of pleasurable existence.

We can never know directly what the primitive human family was like, and the only accounts we possess are those preserved by the Accadians and Hebrews in their legendary histories. But if we see that the primitive molecules of substance in the inorganic world fulfil their place in nature accord-

* In this sentence the simple clan is meant from immediate common ancestry ; clan in Lower Barbarism means the compound clan, derived from a more distant common stock. See page 68.

ing to their environment, working up into ever higher and more complex combinations ; if we see that the lowliest life-form is able to hold its own until its functions be performed in its environment, rising ever by striving into higher and more complicated forms of life ; if we perceive that animals, as a result of such striving, are born with instinct or certain chemico-vital action and re-action due to heredity, the result of will exercised in their ancestry, and are able on account of this to hold their own amidst their surroundings, rising to more and more perfect form ; it then seems absurd to imagine the first humans as other than filling their environment, holding their own in it, and gifted with the potentiality to form in time higher and far-reaching aggregates of men.

And just as human social evolution is analogous to all progressence beneath it, so are the processes of change, of balance, and of decadence, analogous as well. As a matter of fact, I believe, there is no actual balance in nature, there are conditions apparently those of stasis, but under the surface there is in any like aggregate perpetual wear and tear, stress and storm, with the ultimate outcome of progressence or decadence. The sum-totality of the lives of any genus is lived to prepare for the development from out of it of a higher one, the inevitable law of the ultimate change from higher to lower and less complex forms in other natural processes always causing some disharmonical environment, to be met either by conquering will or by the shirking of the skulker ; in the one case there is advancement to a higher form, in the latter a descent to a degraded parasitic species. According to the maxim, "Nature abhors a vacuum" ; and if the play of altered external relations upon internal relations is not met in an organism by change in function to a conquering form of life, some other organism must fill up the gap in action and re-action to the detriment of the failure. As we know that countless myriads of the lowest forms of life existed to prepare for the

scarcer animal forms of the higher orders, and as myriads of these have lived to prepare the way for primitive man, so did the multitudes of each human genus live to allow of the *genus virile* preparing the world certainly for some higher reason. This, as above, is the answer to *Walt Whitman's* query:

"Are those billions of men really gone,
Are those women of the old experience of the earth gone?"

Did they achieve nothing of good for themselves?"

Judging by analogy it seems only logical to consider that the characteristics of primitive man were such as enabled him to thoroughly fill his environment and master it; being necessarily of puerile and immature intellectuality we would consider that it must have been suitably temperate and productive of whatever necessities of life he might require. It seems also rational to conclude that his cosmical nature, the real man, was gifted with a knowledge of its immateriality and its proximity to a Higher Power, for without this knowledge he would, *ipso facto*, not have been a human at all; and that the man, cosmical and material, was in harmony with God and Nature, the man and his corporeal medium acting in mutual support and rhythm, for man could never have risen to higher grades without an original impress upon some of his race of a Spiritual Order.

Assuming a single primitive family, or many, it matters not which, it only needs an analysis of the disharmonical correspondences of the decalogue to perceive, that granted a spiritual order of man, that the fall from it could only be by the sin of opposing man's self-will to God's will, that man tried to order his relationship to the universe in what appeared to him to be a better and superior way to his Creator's will.

From thence there would be two divisions of human families—those who absolutely forgot the existence of a God, or any higher law than their own pleasure, in their decadency;

those who remained in the balance, occasionally progressing, remembering to a greater or lesser extent His power and mercy —these latter proudly calling themselves Sons of God, as distinct from the sons of men. Amongst these latter would spring from time to time those men, few and far between, the witnesses of God in all ages and in all lands, in whom the oneness of the cosmical man with God and their fellows was a fact to them beyond all question, a matter of absolute cosmical percipency.

If we look at this aspect of early man, against which view less to my mind can be urged against than for, it also appears perfectly rational to consider that these early decadent families would vanish in time off the face of the earth, for natural forces of hurtful incidence could easily overcome a *puerile genus*; that however much the incidents of a Deluge affecting all the human race *may* be legendary, that the result of some catastrophe in environment, or even of natural decadence alone, was annihilation.

But in the other families, with a few striving to keep in contact with a Higher Power, the influence of the few would so leaven the mass that a state of balance would be that of the many, of progressence that of these few. But as time went on, as the direct manifestations of God became fewer, as the traditional knowledge of Him became dimmer and mistier, so would the majority of these few become of grosser and more disordered mentality; as they, in their cosmical nature, lost touch of God, so would they fail to perceive the God in each man, that the cosmical essence, or rather, that man himself, is a direct manifestation of the Divine. As they failed in this, as they became more and more materially sensual in every way, as the Law of mutuality, of Love, departed, so would those who had risen to the *genus adolescens* prostitute their higher powers to worsement of their fellows, to their detriment and enslavement. And just as they failed by

example in striving for good and the common welfare to raise up their fellows to a higher state, always manifested by a more complex social organism, so did they, by being the more hurtful and distressful to the slave class, cause such misery and wretchedness that the harmful and unharmonious environment so produced amongst these latter aroused them to action and strife for betterment and happiness.

Just as Higher Savagery may sink into Lower Savagery through parasitism upon nature instead of advancing through desire to conquer it, so may each of the higher aggregates to be enumerated descend a grade or more, perhaps ultimately ascending again, and one of the present highest grades could even descend into Lower Savagery.* To judge by the best known examples of this social organism, if a disordered and inco-ordinated aggregate can be so called, as the aboriginal Australians, the Hottentot Bushmen, and the Patagonians of Cape Horn, there appears to be but little chance of evolution from this condition, although many customs originating in a higher stage may remain. These people are absolutely without any moral law as regards outsiders, without any ideas of religious nature, and they usually live as parasites upon what natural life provides for them, all property, such as it is, being in common, with absolute promiscuity in sexual relationship.

Altruism, or beneficial action for the generality instead of for self, for the mass-man instead of for the self-unit, social love as distinct from self-love, I believe to be only possible as a manifestation of the cosmical essence; the command—"Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you," being apparently opposed to all material reasoning as a means of bringing about peace and goodwill. Love of immature offspring is not altruistic, it is a variety of self-love, lasting only amongst animals until maturity, as is almost also the case as

* Chapter XII., Tables IV., V., VI., VII.

to parental duties amongst the lowest forms of men. Altruism there has always been amongst the few who felt in contact with God, they recognising that nothing could bring them wealth, *i.e.*, wellfaring, if it meant illth to their fellows, that they could claim nothing as a right if they denied the equivalent to their neighbours. But these were always too few, until the advent of Christianity, to influence the formation of social aggregates; in fact, they seemed then as now to have such peculiar ideas and absurd notions that they were considered the victims of madness, or emissaries of the devil, they were of necessity agitators misleading the people for personal gain and advancement, for the vested-interest automorph can only judge by himself. The ordinary man is so crystallised in certain builds of thought, is to such an extent the victim of automorphism, that he believes, as Montaigne says, "Whatever is off the hinges of custom is believed to be also off the hinges of reason; though how unreasonably, for the most part, God knows." "He corrupts the youth," said the vested-interests of Socrates; "He hath a devil, and is mad," they said of Christ; "They dishonour God," said the possessionalists denounced by Latimer and the men of the Renaissance; "They have fired Rome," said the Roman slaveholders; "They are brigands, apostles of plunder, unclean livers," say the parliamentary deputies and the paid editorial mercenaries of the usurious financiers, bogus directors, rack-renting land-owners, and supporters of the demi-monde.

Early on in the human race altruism may have affected social evolution from Higher Savagery; its effects probably soon failed to bring about perceptible evolution. Evolution of higher genera, of more complex forms, occurs in animal life from the survival of the fittest, that is, of the strongest in will, but the result is not desire for altruism but for self-aggrandisement. And amongst men social evolution to more complex aggregates has resulted up to the stage of the

development of perceptible altruism through the conquering will of the men of the higher genera, through the survival and evolution of the fittest for self-aggrandisement and grasping exclusiveness, in the ultimately delusive hope that pleasure affecting only self can be the same in ultimate effect as that resulting in happiness to the many. "Fittest" is often used to connote "best" by those wishful to confuse the issue; the best animal is the strongest, and that through a self-lived life; the best among men are those of greatest altruistic characteristics, the fittest men to survive in a competitive animalistic existence, as is all struggling for material wealth, are the unscrupulous and pitiless livers for self. They often excuse their deeds by saying that they must do their best for their families; that, as just stated, is a variety of self-love, not social love.

As individuals in the clan simple became differentiated in physical characteristics through exercise in the chase and otherwise, so would certain develop greater physical strength than others. The result would be that these fittest few would take to themselves the women most fitted for the production of children, and a special caste would before long be developed, more especially as the "best" man would be able to support the most wives. Perverted intellectuality would result in discoveries in weapons, tools, and methods of labour, being utilised to enslave in warfare; with the advent of slavery and specialised labour in agriculture came the era of exploitation of the weakest, all wealth earned by a slave through labour above that requisite for his support being surplus-value to his master, and later on to his master's parasites. This higher caste would soon take on the reasoning faculties of the *genus adolescens*, and when they did so we would find the social stage of *Lower Barbarism*, where the surplus-value takers are the chieftain caste, being of the *genus adolescens*, and the surplus-value makers belong to the *genus puerile*. Many

races are only emerging from this state now, for example, almost all of the West African tribes; the social form being that of aggregated families, of common descent originally, cemented together by a chieftain class. This is the clan compound organisation * with blood relationship as the foundation of all civil rights, with villages composed of houses in family groups, each family for its own special affairs exercising jurisdiction in its own enclosure, the house and houselands being corporate property of the family, no one individual being able to alienate his share without the consent of all interested. Tillage, and the enjoyment and division of its products, may in this social condition be by the family in common, or, in a later stage, each adult individual may take a special share to cultivate, taking all the products himself as an individual. All untilled land is village property until the confines of that of the next settlement is reached, all householders share in debates and decisions in public matters; in early stages the ruling chief is elected from his caste—later on he succeeds by heredity. The chiefs hold in land only their common family property, but all the village land is divided into portions for which each is responsible for management; † he can claim neither freehold right in such land, nor can he utilise it. Women are property, but as a result of purchase there are two forms of marriage; there is simple unceremonial concubinage, and "customary" marriage with certain obligations mutually present through contract, usually in cases where affection is strong enough to dictate them as a protection to the woman by her relatives. Children belong to the mother's family, but while the father supports them he usually can claim a share at least of their labour; female-descent law as to property and positions of power hold good, the reason given being, "We make sure of it remaining in the blood," the principle being in such society, that whilst

* See note, page 61.

† Unoccupied village land is meant.

you cannot say for certain who is a child's father, you can be sure as to his mother.

The next social aggregate is that of the tribe, that of *Higher Barbarism*; this is formed when a caste of the *genus virile* comes into existence from the clan chieftain class of *Lower Barbarism*. The Tribe is composed of aggregated clans of common origin, cemented together by a virile caste of Princes or Dukes, or persons of equivalent title, this being a better term to use than that of king, which is best reserved for the next form of social organism. In this condition are probably most of the so-called uncivilised races of the world; the ruler is first elective, then hereditary; we also find a large class of warriors, traders, and priests, of the *genus adolescens*, exploiting the surplus-value makers of the *genus puerile*. Individualism in land is creeping in; locality and not blood is the bond between the land-owning class, these latter being the fighting men, usually of a conquering race; families no longer hold property in a corporate capacity as in the clan stage of existence; towns begin to be developed; women and children become absolute property of the woman's purchaser.

Oppression and misery stir up the slave-class to exertion, oppression and greed cause the *genus adolescens* to merge into the *genus virile*, many of the slave-class enter the *genus adolescens*, and a new social formation springs up. This we would call that of *Lower Possessionalism*, for property held for individual profit now confers rank, power, and *virtue*, a "good" man being the wealthiest in goods, chattels, land—not the best in intellect or humanity. Tribes are coalesced to form a nation, the ruling caste is the monarchical, force and heredity usually conferring the title of king; this is the Feudal Age.

But the onward move continues, none except survivals are left in the *genus puerile*, the vast majority of the slave-class,—for all surplus-value makers are such—are found in the *genus adolescens*, a few indeed in the *genus virile*, where are

also the majority of the surplus-value takers. This is the time when allied nations coalesce to form a Kingdom or Federal State, under a constitutional king or emperor or president in these days ; this is the Commercial Age, founded on the ruins of feudalism—it is the stage of *Higher Possessionalism*. But human evolution cannot stop here ; despite the godliness of commerce and profit, the majority of the *genus adolescens* of the slave-class will soon become members of the *genus virile*, then for the first time in the world's history will the majority of any country be in the highest genus, and unable to be exploited except they be fools enough to rob themselves. Then a social form, that of *Lower Socialism*, will emerge, this social democracy being distinct in the above feature of general homogeneity from the ancient democracies of the vested-interest slaver caste ruling over a greater number in the slave class. Equality in franchise and equality of opportunity will underlie this social form, and as the monopolies of land, capital, and ability are attacked through the above means, so will we progress, until, with an adult population almost totally members of the virile genus, we reach the form of *Higher Socialism*, where not only will all land and all wealth be socially owned, but labour will be regimented for national utility, and there will be common reward for the duty of labour.*

Once let man's natural wants be safeguarded through personal exertion—for without the duty of labour he must become a decadent parasite—and we are only at the commencement of an era of intense intellectuality, of true individualism in all but exploitation and legalised robbery of the weaker ; more than that, of an age when the example of spirituality afforded by Jesus of Nazareth can be brought home to all in a way impossible now, when all the faculties are stultified, perverted, and warped in many cases by the narrow environ-

* Chapter XII., Table IV.

ment and by the brutality engendered by animalistic competition. This form of Socialism will be that of federated nations recognising their mutual brotherhood; but what will be the cementing power? I can conceive of none except it be a living belief in our oneness in divinity and humankind and obedience to the command: "All ye are brethren." As soon as we believe that, all the vested wrongs of might, that is, the vested-interests of the legalists, and all the laws of possessionalism must disappear before the awakened altruistic national conscience. And beyond that I can see the Reign of *Anarchy*, when the law of mutual love suffices to secure justice to all, when Society will be lawless because it is just.

Many are the inventions sought out by the ruling caste for oppression, but if they consider that class-manned legislatures, a subsidised and mendacious press, churches preaching the be-in-subjection idea and threatening hell fire, fighting forces of unthinking bayonets, and mercenaries trained in the art of lying, can for ever insure to them the power of exploitation, they imagine a vain thing, for the course of human progressence is beyond their control; for if men only seek after God's original impress, they must return to the Law of Love.

CHAPTER IV. ARCHAIC MAN.

The sources of information as to primitive man—his age upon earth—his appearance as a distinct creation. Bishop Temple on evolution. Tertiary remains of man. His earliest contemporaries in animal life. Origin of post-glacial man—his early characteristics, life, and surroundings. The Stone Age men—Archæolithic and Neolithic, Cave and River-drift men—their weapons and tools. Progress the cause of better tools and weapons rather than the outcome of them—the habits and growth of primitive man. Reasons of progress and of decadency. Growth from family to clan and tribal aggregations. Reasons of wider aggregations of mankind. The original home of Neolithic man—his mode of progress therefrom—his civilisation the origin of ours. The discovery and use of the metals—gold—copper—tin—bronze—iron—localities where found—their effects on progress. War the great cause of increasing coherent aggregates of men. Early commerce—slavery—and cereal crops, as further reasons of progress. The part played by better armed races and clans. Differentiation of labour—formation of castes. The Iron age in archaic Europe—the growth of the National aggregate—a permanent military caste exists only on a similar slave class. Civilisations so founded must suffer decadency.

I tell you that all that has gone before has been but a preparation for this,
That all the early savagery, fierce hunger and thirst, tribal feuds, despotisms,
All the oppressions and exactions of kings and nobles, the wars, civil wars,
and popular insurrections,
Have had no other object for their existence than to render this finally
possible.

In the earliest ages of the world man did not consciously distinguish himself
from his fellows,
He shared in common with the rest of his kin their lot of pain and
pleasure;
But as society grew more complex, and each individual became more distinct,
and his sphere more distinct,
The individual became more and more the end and object of his own
existence.

—Reg. A. Beckett.

At first men lived dispersed; for cities were not: wherefore they were destroyed by wild beasts, for they did not yet possess the political art, of which the military is a part.

—*The Protagoras.*

FROM three sources do we gain information of archaic man—from the results of early industry in the shape of implements, weapons, the remains of his huts and burial mounds and caves; from the history, legendary or otherwise, recorded on

Eastern tablets and monuments, or in the dawn-literature of the Hebrews, Sanscrit Aryans, Chinese, and Greeks; and from races now existing under primitive conditions, with the simplest forms of organisation and aggregation. As stated in the last chapter, it does not follow that a primitive race existing now in the condition which is judged to have been that of primitive man must have always been in that state; it may have advanced and afterwards suffered retrogression from some cause or other; equally so, it is probable that the lowest forms of human sociality are not those of the most ancient types of men. As anthropology becomes studied more and more, I believe it will be recognised that exactly equivalent functions and "laws" govern equally the protoplasmic unit of life, the organic animal aggregate, and social organism springing from the aggregation of men, modified in the latter case by his *spécial* cosmical individuality.*

When man first appeared upon the earth is a matter of conjecture. The accepted possible minimum is the 20,000 years of Sir J. Dawson's calculation; Lyell, Croll, and Geikie estimate any time up to 200,000 years. Since Geology is an immature science, as it were, as yet, the number of unknown phenomena vastly exceeding the known, it is probable that more accurate calculations will be arrived at in the future; also that it will be seen that the first estimate is too small from a desire to approximate to the mind-cramping estimate of Archbishop Usher, that the latter is influenced by the revolutionary rebound from ecclesiastical dictation. Many well meaning people are also influenced still by a certain form of so-called religious belief, that all persons not acquiescing in their automorphic ideas of God and His creation are necessarily the inheritors of everlasting perdition, these hesitate by lengthening out in the past the age of the human race to consign further multitudes to destruction. That man did

* Chapter XII., Tables VII., X., XI., XIV.

descend from an ancestor common to himself and the highest apes appears to me to be absolutely unproven, for nowhere do we find in the animal world any creature taking on inherently new features as implied by "Humanity." Not only so, but it is a most significant fact that increased geological knowledge has found the missing link for most animals, and yet never for man. Professor Cope says: "We have attained the long-since extinct ancestor of the lowest vertebrates. We have the ancestor of all the reptiles, of the birds, and of the mammals. . . . Thus we have obtained the genealogical-trees of the deer, camel, . . . of the lemurs and monkeys, and have important evidence as to the origin of man." And since he wrote no missing link nor common ancestor has been found.

The argument of similarity in build or form need not denote any direct relationship between the apes and man. If the earth was destined for the use of man, and all creation was preparatory to his advent and utilisation, he being built as the form capable of the greatest possible range of mobility and activity, it follows in the plan of evolution that type after type must succeed each other until one immediately proximate to his is reached. And, taking it that the cosmical man is the real man, it follows that he would naturally require the most complicated and perfected protoplasmic build for his manifestation: as a fact, he is in part capable of arboreal habits, but is chiefly destined for terrene existence; the apes and their consanguinaries are almost helpless on the ground in an upright position—this proves that he is of higher material build. Concerning this idea that man by virtue of his Humanity signifies a new departure in type, we find Bishop Temple declaring in antagonism to it: "It seems something more majestic, more befitting of Him to whom a thousand years are as one day, thus to impress His will once for all on His creation, and provide for all its countless varieties by this one

original impress, than by special acts of creation to be perpetually modifying what He had previously made."* The above is, in the first place, a matter of opinion ; and, in the next, the introduction of new creational principles, as formalising energy, life, and Humanity, does not necessitate "special acts" of modification, rather, acts of amplification would describe the idea better. To take an analogy. When a steamship meets a favourable current her speed is not modified but amplified, the same again when a following wind helps her still more ; the current and wind were existing prior to her arrival in a given position ; they were only waiting for her to be able to be advantaged by them.

In the Tertiary strata are found what skilled evidence considers to be the most ancient human remains ; this was taken to be proved at a comparatively recent Congress of French Geologists. These "finds" have occurred in places as far apart as France, Buenos Ayres, and California. The earliest men were contemporaries with an epoch characterised by extinct animals, the most important of which were the Mammoth, the double-horned rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, the cave-bear, the cave-lion, some specially strong forms of hyenas, and several varieties of horses and deer, of oxen and bison. Several of the species of animals that existed together with primitive man are now extant, or have become extinct in historic times : as the auroch or wild bison of Poland ; possibly the wild variety of our Chillingham cattle ; the urus or forest ox, which survived in Germany down to the sixteenth century ; the cave-tiger, the last survivals of which are considered to have been found near to the Aral Sea and in Northern China even in this century. Two other creatures, the musk-ox and reindeer, have survived down to the present time.

That post-glacial man came originally from some part of

* See page 50.

Central Asia is generally now admitted as proven by scientific research, and corroborated by ancient tradition, as far as can be proved by present-day investigation; whether the original home of pre-glacial man was from there or not is probably beyond all settlement. All signs point to a semi-tropical climate in Northern Europe and Asia at one era; whether man existed in these parts at such a time it is impossible to say; absence of remains does not prove his non-existence, for no osseous remains of animals with as small bony structure have been discovered in the strata implicated. Primitive man, without weapons, without fire, without experience, must have first existed in some tropical or semi-tropical land, probably totally a vegetarian as to food, and naked as to clothing. In capacity there is no need as far as evidence yet goes, to consider that primitive man must have been in intellect only a little removed from an ape, with an impress upon his cerebral apparatus of merely bestial habits and animalised instincts, without immediate potentiality for improvement lying latent. Of the two earliest skulls that have come to light Huxley says as follows: "There is no mark of degradation about any part of its structure. It is, in fact, a fair average human skull, which might have belonged to a philosopher, or might have contained the thoughtless brains of a savage." As regards the Neanderthal skull he says: "Under whatever aspect we view this cranium . . . we meet with ape-like characters, stamping it as the most pithecid of human crania yet discovered." To this assertion his critics replied: "We have yet to determine whether the conformation in question be merely an individual peculiarity, or a typical character."* It is to be noted as well that the brain capacity of this skull did not fall short of that of present-day savages. Taking it that the chiefest factor in human advance has been either conscious or instinctive discontent with environment, it follows

* Whether the skull of a degenerate of Lower Savagery, or not.

that human evolution must have been almost inconceivably slow during man's earliest ages; for, granted favourable surroundings there would be but little incentive to exertion, given conditions unduly harsh and harmful he would succumb owing to his helplessness, and would exist without much spirit or hope.

When the Glacial Age spread its influence over Europe and the northern hemisphere, man would have to retreat before the arctic climate; that he did exist in these parts prior to the Ice Age is generally admitted, that there was at least one retreat and re-advance of the glaciers is considered to be beyond question. In the post-glacial age we reach surer grounds for our knowledge of primitive man; in the gravel-beds, the result of river floods, we find unmistakeable signs of human action and existence. These men of the river-drift era have left to us, by which we can judge somewhat of what they were like, their implements, the bones of animals they had slain, pottery, ornaments, and their own bony structure.

Lucretius, recording traditional lore, makes a statement that has been borne out in a most marked and faithful manner by modern knowledge of ancient man, founded on archæology and ethnology. He says: "Ancient arms were the hands, nails, teeth, and stones, also pieces of branches of trees." He then describes two other sources of weapons and tools—those of brass (bronze), and of iron, the bronze age following that of stone, and preceding that of iron. There were two great divisions of the men of the Stone age, according to the crudeness and coarseness of their implements, or to their finish and state of polish; Sir John Lubbock divides them into the men of the river-drift period—a time so far distant that water-action has almost completely altered and changed the superficies of all countries since then—and into the later or polished stone age. The former period he calls the Archæolithic—it is also known as the Palæolithic; the latter is termed the

Neolithic era. Investigators have made still further divisions : some speak of the river-drift and of the cave-men as if distinct in some way or other, the probable explanation being that though almost all palæolithic men were cave-men, all cave-men were not of that era ; we know very well that in all ages caves have been the natural refuges of the harassed or the weak. Another division of the stone age is according to the varieties of animals found, as judged by their remains, in association with human bones and implements, but it is to be remembered that probably there was no hard and fast line between any "age," that in any one era there would always be survivals from a previous epoch or even epochs, also that the more backward race would always be in products of labour a stage or more behind those further advanced in evolution. We find accordingly that Palæolithic man lived in an age of extinct animals, the most characteristic members being the mammoth and great bear, followed by a period of migrating animals now existing—this is termed the reindeer period. It is not until we come to the polished-stone epoch that we find a period characterised by our existing domestic animals : this method of classification was introduced by M. Edouard Lartet.*

Various kinds of flint usually formed the instruments of these early men, roughly chipped or percussed into shape, the earliest and most primitive of which were the so-called axes and scrapers, which at one time must have supplied all the wants of our ancestors, such as they were. As circumstances arose demanding greater skill in manslaying or animal hunting, or need of greater force and power, so did a more varied number of tools to meet newly-discovered necessities and requirements come into use. Sir John Lubbock gives the following list of stone implements as being present in the Copenhagen Museum :—Flint axes and wedges, broad chisels, hollow chisels, narrow chisels, poniards, lance-heads, arrow-heads, half-

* Chapter XII., Table XVIII.

have made some little advance, judged by certain finds, in pottery-making; in his incessant contact with nature-life he developed some decided artistic feeling, as shown by rude sketches, on horn, stone, and bone; and certain reindeer horns, formed apparently into ornamental and perforated staffs, denoted a social organisation advanced enough to need insignia of authority. It is probable that palæolithic man never advanced as far as cave inhumation for his dead, and that his religious rites were few and childish, devoid of the cruelty of later ages; that, except where traditions of a Supreme God lingered, or amongst those families to whom there was occasional revelation, there was no conscience, no morality to be found, an act being right or wrong, commendable or otherwise, simply as it afforded pleasure or not. Knowing no law of right, never having heard of or conceived of the brotherhood of man, there was no sin in injuring others. This is virtually the state of all savages now; blindly and instinctively they practise mutuality within their own aggregate, to them it is natural to hate a hurtful neighbour of any other society than their own. Not that I believe that most primitive man developed at once the blood-lust for his fellows' lives; such I imagine to be an acquired evil trait of character; probably the greater portion of the human era has been free from it, but there is almost certain evidence that later Palæolithic man was guilty of cannibalism, possibly at first only during starvation periods. Almost every important ancient race had traditions of a Golden age for man for which there must have been some underlying fact as foundation; and we can only look for it to the time of Palæolithic man, when his free forest life conferred almost total immunity from disease, when the earth's sparse population rendered his food-supply almost always in sufficiency to his wants, when his brain was never troubled with pangs of conscience as to whether a pleasurable act was right or wrong, when no member of his race had arisen to a

higher grade of intellectuality, utilising his power to bring about slavery, war, and disease, in the mad lust for individual enjoyment of property, power, and position. The essential relationship of the various adult members of the family aggregate in High Savagery, as evidenced by the uncivilised Esquimaux, for a description of whom, together with other "Modern Savages," see Sir J. Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," is labour for the common good, each with an equal voice in general matters, with all property requisite for the common welfare as distinct from that concerned in individual use held in common, all wealth earned by labour necessary for the communal life being enjoyed in common. This is family communism, founded on an instinctive recognition that mutual labour and support are absolutely requisite, and lie at the foundations of all sociality; this is the principle lasting to our own times in family relationship, and in all association and partnerships between individuals of equal ability and power.

But primæval man fell away soon from a percipiency of his Creator and of a mutual relationship between all men; such a belief as brotherhood between all human beings has only been forced on him through generations of suffering, of disharmonious relationship with his environment, in the shape of war, disease, famine, and slavery. The majority amongst Palæolithic man must have been permanently on the down grade to the state of Lower Savagery, with its break-up of all family affection and ties, such as they are in savagery; and they probably died out in their struggle with nature, though many may have been conquered and incorporated in the succeeding waves of Neolithic man. Just as the American Indian descended from a state of Higher Barbarism, probably on the advent of the bison, through the parasitism engendered by an easily acquired food-supply, to a lower stage, from which he cannot emerge again, in which state he is dying out as his easily acquired source of sustenance disappears; so would,

possibly, man of the reindeer period disappear as his principal source of food vanished under a warmer climate and he was left to develop, if possible, under conditions where it was harder than before to procure sufficient food, shelter, and clothing. It is noteworthy that the Fuegians, the Hottentots, and Australians, all of whom are decadent Lower Savages, must have been direct descendants of primitive man if he spread out from one Asiatic centre; if so, they would pass through the enervating tropics with their easily acquired wild-fruit food supply, and would be resident there for many generations before being pushed on further, and would be so influenced that they acquired a parasitic type from which there is no hope of recovery or advancement, no chance of human progressence.

Following the reindeer epoch came an era showing not only a marked advance in the manufactured articles by which man strove to conquer nature, but a change of habits and of life also, by which he was enabled to live in larger communities and in a higher state of evolution. We find now in constant association with the bones and other remains of our present domesticated animals stone implements, tools, and weapons almost invariably characterised by a beautiful finish and polish, with marked improvement in the making, such as axe-heads having holes drilled through for the handles, and long splinters of flint being accurately notched as saws. The improvements exhibited could only be symptomatic of a higher standard of mentality, and we find evidences of this not only in the conquest over nature in the form of domestication of animals, and in the ability for cereal cultivation, as proved by the discovery of carbonised grain, but also in such remains as the tumuli, cromlechs, "circles" of stones, and the extensive earthworks of that period. These structures all possess probably a religious significance of some kind or other, the tumuli and cromlechs being chiefly concerned with burial; the

structures of the type of Stonehenge and Carnac being probably centres of tribal worship and sacred originally to the presiding spirit of the ruling clan, being also formed to act as rallying centres in warfare where we find systems of earth-works existing as well. The tremendous labour involved in their construction, in transportation of the enormous blocks of stone sometimes found to their present positions, with the aid virtually of no mechanical appliances, and the accumulation of earth, with no means beyond digging sticks or digging stones, the earth being carried in baskets to the site it was needed, proves that large aggregates of men must have been socially and civilly allied for certain periods at least. The kitchen-midden settlements of Northern Europe, the almost general prevalence in Europe of lake-dwellings built on artificial islets, and the remains of fortified areas of large extent, are proof of comparatively dense populations in smaller areas than could be occupied by flesh-eating hunters alone. It is noteworthy, however, that these larger aggregations of men are at first apparently formed by the water-side, in positions favourable to special sources of food-supply in the shape of either shell-fish, or ordinary fresh-water fishes. In these positions also, near open, or at the most, bush-covered heathlands by the sea, and swampy meadowlands by the lakes, it would be possible to clear ground more easily by fire and by stone implements for agriculture than in the dense forest country; such localities would also more readily admit of the herding of cattle and sheep. It is most probable that Neolithic man emerged as such from the East, driving before him, exterminating, or absorbing the Palæolithic men of ruder mentality and inferior armoury of weapons. The larger organised aggregate must overcome the smaller or inferior, that is, as long as co-ordination and mutuality hold good; the compound clan organisation of the Neoliths conquered that of smaller family community of the older men.

Driven into the depths of the forests, into the caverns of the hills, into almost unapproachable morasses, these desperate and decadent men would afford material in traditional history to explain almost all the ancient lore of the evil woodland spirits, the forest satyrs, the cannibalistic giants, the wicked mountain sprites, and the evil beings of marshland and stream.*

Yet, Neolithic man must have developed in Asia, assuming that to have been the locality of his evolution, from Palæolithic ancestry ; it is only conceivable he did so through greater capacity for striving for betterment, probably owing to the survival, in some form or other, of emotions and feelings kept in existence by the examples and messages of the few who held to the feeling and knowledge of the cosmical nature of man.

From that centre, wherever it was, he would radiate out into all the world inhabited then by the older races : along the coast-lines, in the course of the rivers, and through the marshes, he would make his way in his rough-hewn and fire-shaped canoes and coracles, until he virtually encircled large tracts of forest-land only inhabited by the inferior races ; in a slower way he would invade these forests and woodlands by advancing along the more open flanks of mountain ranges upon which he could pasture his flocks and cultivate cereals. Ultimately the older inhabitants would become incorporated as slaves, or destroyed : time after time this process and the same lines of conquest have always been repeated and followed by invading races of higher calibre or greater coherence. In considering the spread of the human race westwards, especially from Central Asia, we must remember that in comparatively recent times there was the remnants of an Asiatic Mediterranean in the shape of at least continuous marshes of navigable extent between the Caspian, Ural, and Lake Balkash, influencing

* In Scotland, in the time of James I. (of England), a cannibalist decadent family existed for years.

climate, race, and lines of advance. Also that Southern Russia was virtually one morass, causing the progress westward to be possible only along the northern and southern coasts of Asia Minor, the north shore of the Black Sea, and through Northern Russia from a Siberia modified by the Asiatic Mediterranean into a less rigorous country most of the year.

With the discovery of metals and the practical application of them to domestic economy, the advance of the human race started in earnest. Not that evolution depended upon them alone; as already said, they were only evidence of an advance in mentality, not the cause of it, although at the same time powerful adjuvants thereto. The evidence of the advanced civilisations in Central America, where no metal harder than gold was in use, proves this; the want of an armoury other than neolithic was one of the causes of their doom and extinction.

The first metal to be discovered would be gold, first as an alluvial deposit, next in the granular form in quartz. Probably cassiterite or tin-stone was first brought into notice through its being discovered in association with the gravels and loam in which gold was found, the glittering nature of the latter metal causing archaic man to first appreciate it. "In the course of time the true nature of the tin-stone was probably revealed by accident," says Professor Boyd Dawkins, that is, through the action of fire changing the dull ore into glittering metal.* Until the discovery of bronze tin could only have been used for purposes of ornamentation. Soon after the application of gold to the service of human beings, it is probable that copper was brought into use, in the first instance being found as native copper; in this state this metal has been in use by the Red Indians of Lake Superior from unknown ages, being simply hammered out into the shape of the ornaments or weapons desired. In the Bronze age copper was worked certainly in

* See note at end of chapter.

Spain and Britain, but we also know that there is hardly a European country where it is not found, Cyprus being one of the most ancient sources known to us, and the chief place from whence the Romans drew their supplies in after years. It has been much debated whether or not that a Copper Age preceded the Bronze ; it appears to be most probable that this was so in those localities where copper was found. That it did not spread universally throughout the lands where the Bronze Age has left its traces was most likely due to the fact that copper is but little better than the hardest stones for purposes of weapons and implements ; probably also that the discovery of bronze, the alloy of tin and copper, followed so soon after the use of copper that this latter metal had no time to pass from clan to clan, especially as bronze would hasten all migratory movements through the conquering power afforded by its use. Concerning the question whether the use of bronze and its manufacture sprang up in the various localities where the two constituent metals were found as a constant phase in social development, or whether its application spread from one locality alone, the evidence appears to Professor Boyd Dawkins to be as follows : " From this it may be inferred that the supply of bronze was obtained from some one centre, and that afterwards articles were manufactured with various local modifications of the original models." The most ancient sources of tin affecting the old civilisations were the land of Midian and the country of Khorassan ; from these centres would radiate out migrating clans, who, drawing upon those behind them for their supplies of ingots of ore, would recognise the minerals wherever else they were to be found. In Scandinavia, France, Spain, Germany, Tuscany, Malaya, and Britain we now find tin ; from archaic ages we have evidence of its being worked for and utilised in all these countries with the exception of the districts of Sweden and Finland.

It is almost impossible to estimate aright the acceleration

to human evolution that followed the practical application of bronze in social economy ; it is also impossible to fix even approximately the date of the earliest manufacture of this metal. One authority, M. Marlot, gives to bronze an antiquity of from 3,000 to 4,000 years ; but since the Bronze Age really only ceased in Northern Europe some 2,000 years ago, and as we know that the ancient Eastern civilisations used iron certainly some 6,000 years ago, the estimate would appear to not extend back sufficiently far. Up to the use of bronze, commerce would consist in but little more than gold and amber for ornamentation, in salt from the coast-lines, in animals and slaves ; signs exist, however, tending to prove that in some localities a proper industry of flint making occurred as well. But bronze was not only a much desired article, but one often of vital necessity, for the Neolith fighter stood no chance before the bronze-using warrior ; hence the travelling merchant in bronze would possess the same safe conduct as at present usually vouchsafed to the rifle-and-gunpowder merchant amongst present-day warring and uncivilised tribes. The travelling artisan would also be welcomed as a settler amongst whatever peoples lived in countries wherever the two metals were found ; and ultimately such would be the demand that advanced nations destitute of these metals would seek the countries where they could obtain it in return for articles that the vendors required. The ingot-selling merchant would take much of his pay in slaves, and in these ways the ancient habits of clan isolation, ignorance, and prejudice of all beings not of your own speech or race, would begin to be broken down, the way for higher and more complicated aggregates of men would be commenced at last. But war, even more than commerce, would tend to break down these barriers to all evolution, and would forcibly bring men to recognise their universal sameness through misery and helplessness ; even the brute instinct of indiscriminate sexuality would act through warfare and female slavery in this manner, owing to a never-

ceasing admixture of races and peoples being thus brought about. Until bronze came into use man could not conquer nature, his aggregations were necessarily small, since cereals until then could only be grown in natural glades and the less favourable soils of the mountain sides or open coastline heaths. It was the special advantage granted to mankind by the alluvial deposits on the banks of the Nile, the open marshlands of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the easily burnt herbage and bush desiccated by the Siberian winter along many a forgotten central Asiatic river, that would more than anything cause the ancient civilisations of these parts of the world. The easier the production of the staple cereal food, the larger the population free from agricultural work ; and the greater the labour to be exploited through ministering to the luxuries of the few, the greater the specialisation of industry and commerce. But, in forest-covered Europe, sufficient clearings could now be made to allow of allied clans continuing to reside together ; the social "form" of the clan village of Lower Barbarism would appear subservient more or less to a conquering clan of better armed bronze-using warriors, the tribal organisation was in view.

Somehow in this way would this stage of evolution be entered upon. In the original locality of bronze manufacture, or in one of its secondary places of development, a bronze-armed clan would either voluntarily or perforce migrate elsewhere into contact with stone-using clans, ultimately becoming supreme amongst them. These latter would usually be without any fixed organisation or attempt at mutuality between themselves, in a state recognising no principle of sociality excepting between members of the freemen class, with but little coherence between the different *gens* of a compound clan except that rendered necessary for mutual offence and defence. The bronze-weaponed men would not only take to themselves the best locality for pasturage and agriculture, but also that for defence as well ; with their harder implements they could erect stockades

and earthworks virtually impregnable to their weaker-armed enemies ; they could also make clearings on richer lands than the localities utilised for cultivation by Neolithic man. They could excavate better canoes and build lake dwellings not to be touched by attack, and the command of the water would almost ensure the dwellers upon it from capture by starvation. Again, in mountain passes, or by the sides of the all-important river routes, they could erect fortified towns controlling and taxing the trade of whole provinces ; they could also take to themselves the sites of any of the prehistoric marts that then existed. Not that all this happened at once, or even for a long time ; it was the general trend of events. At first, in its more favourable locality the invading clan would live as isolated as any of those around it ; the change in social "form" would be brought about through slavery and warfare. The compound clan organisation consisted of allied families living side by side, each with their headmen, with the ordinary adults owning and working the family land in common, with the slave class below them ; the coherence of the village being determined by the acquiescence of all families in the leadership of one special headman or chief of all the heads of families. In the new organisation, which we know as the "Tribal," this being the social "form" of Higher Barbarism, the headman of a conquering migrating clan develops into a chieftain, forming, from his own descendants, a special caste before long ; the free adults who acknowledge him as their leader develop each a family in which they are headmen and warriors by profession, this being their special occupation in the differentiation of labour ; their former dependents become, as in the older clans, free landed men, in more recently formed villages as well each with what slaves he can capture or control. The coherence and co-ordination of these now tribal clans is preserved by the authority of the chief of the parent village, this latter individual, through tradition, superstition, and the greater wealth, soon establishing his power

beyond ordinary dispute. Peace is requisite for all social development, for war is analogous to the destructive fever storms affecting animal tissues, it being the outcome of madness and disharmony in the cosmical nature, or of antagonism between this and the material man: the tribal organisation afforded greater peace within its area than existed previously within the same district when occupied by the perpetually warring and mutually destructive clans. The right to settle private quarrels by bloodshed would still exist in the slaver caste, but the very fact that a large slave class had to be kept in subjection would tend to customary laws to diminish the waste of freemen's lives, one means being to make the special families affected responsible for loss of life; when the other families took up this attitude for the common welfare the risk of such a feud involving all the adults of the families of two contestants would soon diminish. Personal quarrels between two tribal villages would leave unaffected the other adjacent villages, and also the hamlets of the aborigines except where these depended on contesting clans. The sum-total effect would be greater peace and enhanced productivity in labour, the slaver-caste being free for part of the year at least to repel invaders or attack others beyond the tribe for slaves and wealth.

The Iron Age starts in pre-historic times, and to that extent occurs in the era of Archaic man; it is estimated to have commenced in the East at least 4,000 B.C., and did not supplant bronze in Northern Europe until 1,800 years ago. Where it supplanted bronze during the tribal epoch it would only intensify the processes just described, and ultimately, partly as a cause, partly because the manufacture of iron was only symptomatic of evolution itself, it led up to a new social "form," that of the "Nation" of the vested interest form, founded on property used for individual profit and gain. As clans were forced through warfare to consolidate into tribes, so warfare would compel tribes, derived originally from a common stock, having

at least some similarity in language, customs, and religion, to amalgamate into a " Nation." The chief of a conquering tribe would become the " king," being the common authority over the allied tribes ; the chieftain caste becomes the feudal nobility ; the free landed men formed the warrior class, increased slave wealth allowing them to devote most of their time to this occupation ; their immediate descendants and dependents become landless free men or serfs ; the majority of the conquered would sink into either serfs or slaves, the former being chiefly found in tributary villages or hamlets, with still their own organisation as village units. Where there was not conquest absolute enough to virtually enslave other tribes, the only change resulting from the pre-eminence of one tribe was that the former recognised the leader of this one as King, he having, by virtue of the power by which he acquired that office, authority to cause and enforce coherence and co-ordination between the other tribes of allied descent. In this case the former tribal leaders of the confederation became dukes, earls, or princes, with, under them, the grades as before of landed warriors, of landless men called wrongly free men, of serfs, and of chattel slaves. In some such way as this the ancient civilisations of the East would first come into existence. A time also came when nation enslaved nation as well.

To return to the earlier stage, we would find that the bronze-armed invaders would not only possess the power to take to themselves a greater number of men and women slaves, rearing through the latter in time a population of domestic slaves who considered themselves as an integral part of the clan owing to their paternity, but their higher civilisation would enable them to utilise the slave class to a higher degree than the surrounding clans, and to produce food at a greater rate and in larger quantities than did the strangers around them. The result of this would be twofold : there would be leisure for a warrior caste to evolve, and the slave class population not

required in producing food would become differentiated into classes, either producing articles socially necessary, or administering to the luxuries of the slaver caste. To these latter war would become a profession, and as the original home of these bronze-armed warriors became unable to hold them, certain families allied by blood, together with their armed slaves and descendants, would migrate and settle amongst the weaker Neolithic clans around them, but usually not very far away from the original settlement or its off-shoots. The result would be another population of slaves added to their number, and as these invading clans increased numerically, so would they bring under subjection the original people left isolated between them, taxing these latter in labour and produce. But this very increase in a slave class would bring about the change of social "form," for the domestic slaves and bondmen would often be freed and granted land as serfs for their support, so that the chance of any coalescence by the slave class against the invaders might be avoided. Instead of the triple grades of the compound clans, we would have four classes existent in human aggregations of the tribal form ; further, we would find alliances established between villages apart from each other.

From the time when the first man was enslaved human evolution has proceeded in an unnatural and disharmonical manner ; to escape the duty of labour man made war to enslave others, the dead-weight of the slave-blood in all civilisations where it existed caused their destruction through its disintegrating influences ; the surplus-value taking classes of the slaver-caste have also always ultimately been subject to dissolution subsequent on their refusal to partake in the duty of labour. Having cut themselves off by artificial barriers and laws from natural correspondences with the rest of mankind, they had to suffer the natural sequences of decadence and death.

The man who is a surplus-value taker enjoys something

for which he renders in return but little or nothing, his will to preserve his cosmical integrity is lessened, his desire to *feel* the universality of his real cosmical self with the life of nature and the world of men falls away, his own organism, physical and cosmical, becomes deranged, inco-ordinate, and unhealthy, the brute passions ultimately reign supreme.

Many centuries ago was this recognised by the immortal Socrates, for we find him saying: "For nothing else but the body and its desires occasion wars, seditions, and contests; for all wars amongst us arise on account of our desire to acquire wealth: and we are compelled to acquire wealth on account of the body, being enslaved to its service; and consequently on all these accounts we are hindered in the pursuit of philosophy."

Society has hitherto been founded on slavery and force, on the life drudgery of the serf and the surplus-value taking "law" of the slaver-caste ruling through brute force and selfishness; we who are Socialists point out a more excellent way, that true society can be founded on mutual love, and is trending towards that social "form" even now in this the present day.

Refer to page 86.—Since writing the above the author has become acquainted with the fact that in Sefwi, near Ashanti, it was not unknown before the importation of European tools, native iron being too soft for use, for great fires to be built on exposed gold-bearing reefs, with the object of cracking the quartz-holding stone. If this was primitive custom, as it was there, the origin of smelting is easily understood. Specks of native copper (new-chum gold) are often found in gold formations; if such a reef was being roasted, with tin also present, bronze is not far off. Probably tin was discovered first whilst reefs were being roasted for gold.

CHAPTER V. BARBARIAN EUROPE.

Chattel-slavery underlies barbaric civilisations, it was the outcome of the perverted power of higher genera. The majority now in any land in Northern Europe almost in the genus virile. Results of excessive power to a ruling caste—and of the manual-labour class entering the genus virile. The Asiatic origin of neolithic barbarism—their mode of progression to Europe—half-blood races—impact waves. Early records affecting Europe—Egyptian, Phœnician, Homeric. The Etruscan and allied civilisations. Rome—Greece—Carthage. The Phœnician trade and discoveries in Western Seas. Pre-historic commerce and overland trade routes. Dates in Europe of the Stone and Metal Ages. Ethnological features and characteristics. The pre-Aryan races—their generally unacknowledged importance—their distribution—early history. The Aryan invasion—Gauls—Brythons—Sclavs—Teutons. The Goths and Franks, their overthrow of Rome. The Angle-Saxon Confederation. Other invasions of Barbaric Europe. The Scandinavians. The race composition of the British Isles. The growth through various stages of progress, effected partly through slavery and warfare. Power and the land. Commerce—religion—authority in barbarian Europe—also extent and results of knowledge of the age. Property—Law.

O slaves of these laborious years,
O freemen of the years to be,
Shake off your blind and selfish fears,
And hail the truth that makes you free!
Arise from sleep; the night is gone;
Across the world the day is breaking;
And whosoever slumbers on
Will suffer soon a rude awaking.

O think of those who bravely bore
Through persecution, death, and shame,
The flag of freedom on before,
That you that heritage might claim!
Was it a dream for which they bled?
Lo! its fulfilment we inherit!
Nor need we mourn that they are dead,
If we who live but breathe their spirit!

Yet, patience, brothers ! If the power
 Of tyrants tread you down to-day,
 Be sober in your triumph-hour,
 And act a nobler part than they !
 To your oppressors comes at length
 The dreaded day of retribution ;
 Deal wisely, therefore, with your strength,
 O giants of the Revolution !

—Reg. A. Beckett.

IT will be best at once to accurately define certain terms about to be used in this and following chapters. Up to about five hundred years ago in England, down to within fifty years in Eastern Europe, the basis of society in all European countries was that of chattel and serf slavery ; upon this class rested the higher castes of any land, higher in that in intellectuality the majority of the slaver-caste were in a more advanced state of evolution than almost all the members of the slave class, virtually forming a distinct human genus. In the present day, in north-western Europe, the "lower orders" are now lower in nothing but in reward for labour from their "better," for in the march of human evolution they have attained in an equal ratio at least to the same intellectual standard, that of the *genus virile*; and towards this consummation of affairs are rapidly trending likewise over Mediterranean and Oriental Europe as well. Hence we find amongst the races of the Northern blood a condition of affairs before unknown, for, whereas formerly class domination sprang from the ignorance and helplessness of a portion of mankind in reality of an inferior order or genus in intellectuality, a different matter altogether from inferiority in manhood, we have now come to an epoch in certain countries when class dominance merely rests on the helplessness of the wage-slave in his struggle to obtain work and wages for his maintenance and support.

Being in reality the potential equal to his masters in mentality and manhood, he is also equal in perceptivity, in function, and in capacity for organisation ; he has evolved upwards into

the same genus of mankind. But within the present-day State of such countries we find disorderly and unharmonious action and re-action between various classes, groups, and other aggregates; the immaturity of function that attaches to all growing organisms hindering the wage-slave class from demanding, or rather filling to the full, all its almost recently found correspondencies, it acts without recognising the full extent to which it might or could assert itself, it re-acts without making itself perceived to the fullest extent, or does so wastefully or incompletely in improper and hurtful directions.

Goethe once said that the world was governed by hunger and love, and to satisfy these necessities of existence, using these terms in their widest significance, appears to be the aim of all social organisation. A perfect social organism would be one where all, according to their need, had these disharmonical conditions satisfied in reason, that is, according to the normal standard of perfect action and re-action; any insufficiency leading up ultimately to physical or psychical atrophy, as the case might be, on the one hand, or to excessive function at the expense of the rest of the organism in the case of excess, with ultimately a social breakdown from the inevitable retrograde changes consequent on hypertrophy. In the older States, founded on chattel-slavery owing to the helplessness of an inferior human genus, there was always this dissolution of the dominant class whenever excessive power, and through that the abnormal and irrational satisfaction of the two chiefest necessities of life, had resulted either in psychological aberration, as preceded the downfall of ancient Greece or Rome, or in functional atrophy, as when the feudal classes of England and France degenerated when growing commercialism curtailed their military duties and functions. Hunger and love, summed up in the phrase, the right to live, dominate the feelings of the modern wage-slave as much as those of the older chattel-slave, and his actions and re-actions are steadily being directed

towards the establishment of a State wherein all units and all aggregates will have harmonious and satisfactory inter-relationships. Now, for the first time, the wage-slave class is able to *elect*, owing to the spread and growth of knowledge and altruism, what the form of the Social organism shall be, and what relative duties of constituent units and aggregates are most advantageous to the commonwealth.

With the majority of mankind in any land in the *genus puerile* the form of society was Barbaric, built up on chattel slavery; with the development from these of a higher genus, the adolescent, under a higher dominant class of the *genus virile*, the form is that of Feudalism, built up on a slave-class of serfs, with chattel slavery dying out; with the growth of a still larger class in the *genus adolescens*, and the advance of many in that genus into that of the virile, we attain to the state of Commercialism, where the majority are wage-slaves labouring for the welfare of the dominant classes. When the majority attain to the *genus virile*, for the first time is it possible for any nation to progress in the orderly routine of physiological growth through desire for orderly relationship in the social organism to the exhibition of functional capacity, and through that to social organisation. Of perfect social organisation is Collectivism the genesis, Socialism the period of evolutionary growth, Communism the state of stable establishment, philosophical Anarchy the ultimate result. Hitherto our organised States have been founded on phenomena and subsequent economical "laws" depending on the vast majority in any one country being in a genus unequal and inferior to the few: we now enter on the era when the vast majority are in the same genus as the present dominant few. These latter at the present moment hold their ground not from superior manhood or intellectuality, but because the attacking forces of Industrialism have neither matured their organisation, nor

secured momentum enough to break down the inertia of established usage and custom, and from the ignorance of automorphic judgment and knowledge.

Barbaric Europe will refer to the time when barbarism as defined in the last chapters was the form of society, when the basis of society lay upon chattel-slavery ; this period roughly finished in England with the termination of the Plantagenet régime, and in Eastern Europe lingers still. During the last six thousand years there have been many instances in the world's history of Higher Possessionalism or of Commercialism, but in these cases aggregates characterised by such a form were superimposed upon the chattel-slave class ; these latter were in any one country, but not in the nation, if we reserve that term for a country where all are units, however humble, of a socially constructed organism.

Feudal Europe will apply to the period ending in Britain with Cromwell's wars ; it is still largely the state of Russia, Spain, and the Balkans ; society rests on serfdom as distinct from slavery, with a large class administering to the luxuries of the ruling caste who are not in the condition of serfdom. Such a state we will call a Feudal Nation, as distinct from a feudalised state of the type of the timocracies of ancient Greece, which consisted of the feudal nation resting on barbaric slavery.*

The Commercial Nation is where the wage-slave class are organised in the nation with the object of administering to the commercial middle classes, the latter in reality, and not in shadow, being the ruling caste. The commercial states of antiquity, from Accad and Egypt, to go back as far as we can, up to the trading mediæval republics, consisted of a commercial nation resting upon chattel-slavery again. England commenced to be a commercial nation two and a half centuries from the present time, followed by France little more than a century

* Chapter XII., Table VIII.

ago ; within the present generation every nation in Europe has almost attained to this stage of evolution if it had not done so before.

It will probably never be known when the stage of Higher Savagery passed away in Europe. It is possible that the members of the human race who were furthest from the original centre of mankind had even descended to the state of degenerates in Lower Savagery, and that the Neolithic clans, themselves the descendants of necessity of Higher Savagery, had but little to contend against other than natural difficulties and forces. With the Neolithic Age, and the greater power over Nature conferred by the new armamentarium, came the possibility of the compound clan organisation, of greater aggregations of men being able to find support in a given circle of country than heretofore ; but this betterment in weapons and tools was only symptomatic of a higher standard of intellectuality, which also manifested itself in the capacity for agriculture and rearing of stock.

From all known indications there is every reason to suppose that, in the woodless savannahs formed from the dried-up marshlands of the ancient Asiatic Mediterranean, as equally as in the annually inundated plains of Mesopotamia and the Nile, we must look for the origin of cereal cultivation and herding, for such occupations could not have been followed with man's then feeble array of implements in the forest districts of Europe, for such we know was the state of our continent until comparatively recent times. We cannot say when the Neolithic Barbarians first entered Europe, but it is not impossible, from a consideration of the state of Europe in early historic times, to fix a minimum period for their occupation of it.

It is necessary to see what glimpses the dawn literature of the world affords to us of our continent as far back as we can go. A few words of explanation first as to what is meant by the term impact wave when applied to the advance of any race, and what

is to be understood by the phrase, an intermediate or half-blood race. As regards the former. Given three distinct races lying in contact, one being a buffer between the other two, each having the coherency afforded by difference in physique, religion, customs, we will imagine one of them advancing in all strength against the middle race. As a whole the latter may hold its ground, but tribes on the side furthest from the attacking race may enter upon such a state of general unrest that they in their turn press on the third nation, these latter only needing perhaps some comparatively slight stimulus to cause them to move onwards in mass. Thus one attacking nation could determine, by the impact wave it imparted to races acting as a buffer, the movement of a nation that it was itself never in contact with. As regards a half-blood nation. Given two races lying in contact, they perpetually raid one another, women being legitimate spoil and captures. The more successful a warrior the greater his number of slave-wives, the greater the number of half-blood children born to him. In time organised barbaric warfare replaced clan raiding, desolating and devastating wars constantly occur, until, if no debatable land existed before, there is left a large unoccupied country between both races. This is no theorising; in a comparatively small area of the West African Coast the writer knows of two such uninhabited zones; the Northumberland "Wastes" were up to recently such a locality. Slaves run-away from their masters, the survivors of destroyed villages, outcasts and outlaws, naturally gravitate into this No Man's Land; these, having come chiefly from the fringe of the two opponent races will contain a very large number of the half-blood descendants, who would have much in common in language and customs. These again in their turn, in this new country to them, would organise, for as soon as they gave signs of the least wealth, both the races they descend from would commence to reave and harry them. If not strong enough to stand alone, they could usually, as allies able to turn

the scale according to which side they took, command a certain amount of independence. Later on they would enrich themselves by women captives from both sides, and ultimately from this debatable land a new and vital intermediate race would spring, strong and virile by reason of the blood admixture and the greater struggle for existence.

The records of Egypt are the first to give us any account of our continent. In Genesis we have an account of those by whom "were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands," the Hebrew historian must have received his knowledge from the traditions of early mankind officially recorded by the Egyptian priesthood. Navigators had then probably extended, at the time of the recording of this writing, but little beyond Greece and the countries adjacent, and as they would have no knowledge beyond the Mediterranean Archipelago and the perpetual swamplands of Southern Russia and the Danube of continental Europe, it would be pardonable to constitute the Grecian and Roman peninsulas as actual islands. In the Egyptian records of the fifteenth century B.C., in the reign of Rameses II., we read of "the attack of the Sardones and the Tyrrhenes (Etruskans) on the delta of the Nile. . . . This invasion was again repeated, about seventy years afterwards, by a more formidable confederation, in which the two above-mentioned peoples were joined by the Sikels, Lykians, Achaians, and Lybians. The allies advanced to the attack by sea and by land, conquered part of the Delta, and were defeated after a desperate struggle by Menephah I. Amongst the spoils it is interesting to remark bronze knives and cuirasses" ("Early Man in Britain." *W. Boyd Dawkins*).

Not later than 1100 B.C., did the Phoenician traders found Gades, or Cadiz, at the mouth of Guadalquivir, passing thus early beyond the Pillars of Hercules, commanding the sub-tropical trade of Morocco and North-western Africa and the tin mines of Western Iberia. It of necessity follows that prior

to this date for some centuries they must have slowly been extending their colonies westward, and permeating the countries in which they settled with the arts and workmanship of whatever Oriental power they were mostly under the influence of at that time being.

In Homer's works we have imperishable records of the manners and customs of ancient Greece any time from B.C. 1000 to his own time; everything points in his age—for even if he portrays mythological heroes their habit and garb must be anthropomorphic—to their organisation having not as yet advanced beyond the tribal stage of barbarism.

The Etruskans about the same date had established themselves in the north of Italy; they were a people considered to have been of Asiatic origin owing to their religion and art, manners and customs. Of them at this date we can only judge by the remnants of their architecture, their ornaments, weapons, and other manufactures. Wherever they were in the fifteenth century B.C., they were strong enough, as just stated, to invade Egypt in organised force both by land and sea, and by this date, that of their temporary settlement in Egypt, they must have advanced to the condition of a commercialised nation. It seems probable that they were of allied blood to the Phoenicians, and that they and these latter were two half-blood races formed by the contact of the Turanian and Shemitic stocks or peoples. The Pelasgi who inhabited Northern Italy before them were not simple barbarians alone, but had a marked art and civilisation of their own; since they themselves were of this Turanian blood (a term about to be explained), amalgamation would not be difficult.*

When we arrive at the early traditional history of Rome we find some outcast or migrating compound clan founding a city, the old-world tale of descent from a wolf being more than possibly due to surrounding clans considering them from

* Page 109.

their devastations as best emblemised by such a beast, the wolf probably being their totem as well. In the course of history we trace their development up to the later commercialised nation that dominated almost the then known world through all the various stages of human evolution, only to break down with as complete a downfall as was ever known, and this because the interorganisation of the Empire was incomplete, because it (the commercialised nation) was founded on slavery in Rome and its colonies, these ruling again over national and barbarian aggregates, which in their turn existed on like foundations. Under such conditions organisation, or mutual and orderly harmonious relationships, action, and re-action, between various units and groups was impossible: the human sub-strata that existed to produce and guard the wealth that was the result of their exertions became the subjects of mental atrophy since the function of governmental duties was denied them; the dominant few, through using their energies solely for pleasure instead of for the duties of administration as well, became equally paralysed in mental faculties and intellectual aspirations, having devolved such duties to others. Flavius Honorius, sitting and feeding his doves, unable to attend to imperial duties, was a fitting example of his decadent class. We see the head-men of clans ultimately becoming Senators and the representatives of the privileged caste of patricians, and we see the commonalty of the clans as distinguished from the slaves, developing into separate tribal organisations of the plebeians, all such organising together for a common national purpose as the comitia centuriata.

We read of Rome conquering the neighbouring tribes in its earlier history, so that at last the King of Rome became the head of a Tribal Confederation; we trace the uprise in power of the plebeian middle-classes and their supplanting the military feudalism that they first of all objected to, and afterwards retained in their possession, for their own purposes of exploitation

In Greece the run of events was somewhat different in course, decidedly so in result. Several towns emerged almost contemporaneously from the clan-compound village to the condition of a city, first amongst equals of virtually the same blood and speech, customs and habits, was the State of Athens. Such was the dominant element in the Grecian social organisation ; each state was the highest example of tribal development. Here we find the slave-class of the clans developing into the Helot class, and the conquered aborigines living as serfs, as the Perioecioi, in the villages around. But no one tribe was ever able for any length of time to become supreme in the Grecian peninsula, and this very fact prevented Greece from ever forming a feudalised state as did early Rome become. Under these old civilisations we find the slave-class in ratio to the freemen often as five to one in the towns, or more. Commercialism swayed certain of the Grecian tribes, but never caused all the Greek-speakers to combine ; one noted tribe, that of the Spartans, never advanced beyond a feudal or military organisation. Because the mutuality of the Greeks never reached a point further than that of loose tribal confederation at the best, they fell as much beneath the organised force of feudalised Rome, as the latter have been inferior to them in philosophy, art, and letters.

One other nation alone affected the history of Europe some centuries before Christ, that of the Carthaginians, themselves an offshoot of Phœnicia. This colony was founded by Tyrians, who preferred to seek new lands after the Assyrian had conquered their city about 814 B.C. ; some two hundred years after they received from Phœnicia another large accession to their number. The Phœnician colonies in all the Western Mediterranean soon acknowledged the supremacy of this new Tyre, and no less than 200 towns are said to have been founded by Carthage in Spain, then principally attracted to it by its tin mines and copper supplies. About 500 B.C. Himilco sailed

from Gades, arrived at the islands of the Oestrymnides, "rich in tin and lead, and inhabited by a numerous, proud, and industrious population accustomed to commerce." From here he went to Ireland, probably to the tin districts of Wicklow, which, together with the Cornish peninsula and the Scilly isles, may have formed the Cassiterides or Tin Islands of the later writers. When Carthage was crushed Greece was the only nation left with maritime enterprise; and from one Grecian colony, Massilia, an expedition was sent under Pytheas in B.C. 325 to discover a sea-route to the countries from whence they had derived their ingots of bronze, then brought down to them by the Rhone. Probably two routes converged from the Cassiterides to the sources of this river, one down the Loire, and one by the Seine. Although a Greek had discovered Phoenician Gades in B.C. 640, it was almost 300 years before the northern trade of this port was threatened: the result was that Pytheas penetrated up the English Straits into the German Ocean, along the eastern coasts of Britain until he left them to sail across to Norway. From this Ultima Thule he returned, reached the Rhine, sailed coastwise to Jutland, discovered the amber isles, and thence made for home.

Shortly, this, as above, was the extent to which civilised Europe affected barbarian Europe up to three or four centuries B.C., and in all our present countries where the States and colonies enumerated existed, the majority of the population were barbarians in the position of chattel-slaves or living in subservient villages of aboriginal serfs. Only along the great trade routes was the Cimmerian blackness of barbarism broken in the least, and a touch of higher human influence conferred. Beyond slaves, the principal commodities to be offered by ancient barbarian Europe were tin, copper, and amber, lead and skins being less desirable and not of such vital importance as the two former metals. In Eastern Europe, Russia, and the Balkans, the only civilising influence was that

springing from the Grecian colonies ; from one of them, Olbia, at the mouth of the river Bug, a trade route about 300 years B.C., passed up the Dneiper, across to the Vistula, and down to the amber coast of the Baltic. Some slight Assyrian influence was visible in Southern Russia through Olbia, just as the Phœnicians gave a special colouring to their objects of art from the nation they happened to be subservient to in that respect at any one time.

In Central Europe in these pre-historic times there was only one great point from whence commerce spread from the Mediterranean. This was from Etruskan Hatria on the Po, and from thence two routes passed through Europe, one north-easterly towards the Oder, tapping in its course the tin-regions of the Carpathians, and ultimately reaching the Baltic through the Vistula. The Greeks traded early in their commerce with Hatria, and afterwards the Romans succeeded to the command of it. The other route was more directly to the north, and emerged on to the amber coast through the Elbe. As far north as Denmark and Sweden have been found well-marked evidences of Etruskan civilisation.

In Western Europe there were two streams of commerce from the Mediterranean, one down the Rhone (probably even before the Greeks founded Massilia), one sea-borne to Gades and to the parts beyond. The former route diverged high up the Rhone, one branch reaching the North Sea through the Rhine, one the British Channel through the Seine, and one the sea-borne trade of the Cassiterides through the Loire. The Basques were good enough sailors even before the Phœnicians reached these same districts from Gades to have acted as carriers for this desirable traffic.

Not until Rome, with its almost imperishable roadways leading everywhere it was worth while their being made, conquered Western Europe were these ancient trade routes altered and almost forgotten.

We will now consider the social and ethnological condition shortly of these barbarians of Europe, whose descendants now lead the world. The transition from the Stone to the Bronze Age marks a most important change, one of the most decisive in their history. This change did not occur all at once, but more or less it advanced progressively from the East, sometimes by hand-to-hand commerce and traffic, sometimes by the sudden advance westwards of the bronze-using men, sometimes by merchants or artisans discovering local sources of supply, sometimes through sea-carried traffic. In the Homeric age iron was just superseding bronze in Greece, it was in use in Britain until 150 years B.C., and lingered in general use in Scandinavia until two hundred years later. Even in the time of Lucretius the tradition remained of an age of Stone, and since we know that iron-using civilisations were extant in Mesopotamia and Egypt some 4,000 years B.C., we may well suppose that some time before that the use of Bronze began to be known through commerce and migration from Asia Minor into Europe and the Grecian Isles. As to the time when the Neolithic men supplanted Palæolithic man we can only at the best state a minimum time as to how long ago the ancestors of pre-Aryan Europe must have crossed into the Russian swamps or over the Dardanelles, it could not well be less than two or three thousand years before the later bronze-users followed after them.

To scores of European savants in the last century it has been a labour of love to investigate the ethnological characteristics of the peoples of Europe, to trace out their descent, inter-relationship and origin, their customs and habits; a list of such authorities will be found in Chapter XII. Upon the facts to be stated there is general agreement; tombs and burial chambers afford us information that could not have been preserved in any other way, of pre-historic times.

There was a time when Europe was inhabited by a Neo-

lithic race of small, dark people, of whom certain races, the Basques, the Finns, and the Huns are almost the only extant survivals, and that not in original purity by any means. But when we consider that all evidence points to the fact of the bigger and broad-skulled race who followed them being the Geltae, these latter even in early historic times being noted for their fair complexions, light hair, and blue eyes, it also follows that almost all who are now to be found in Europe of the brunette characteristics must be direct descendants of these pioneers of Western civilisation. Even in so-called Angle-Saxon Britain we find about one-fourth of our population showing marked features of this ancient blood, the principal localities being mountain ranges or peninsulas from which retreat before the fair-haired Kelts was impossible any further.

These Turanian people were small in stature, of an average height of under five and a half feet, slightish in bony build, nose aquiline and forehead low, with skulls of the long or oval type and of fair cranial capacity; this long-headed form of cranium is probably due to the masculine type of female pelvis, denoting in the latter sex a hard and active life in manual labour and pedestrianism. Granted this kind of life early on in human history, before environment was controlled by mentality, the types would become permanent, whilst those divisions of mankind who either wandered comparatively soon into wealthy food-bearing districts, or who soon emerged out of the hunter stage into that of the herdsman, would, in the case of women, take on the present prevalent type, resulting in the broad-headed crania. The descriptions granted in early historic times are corroborated by the appearance of these races yet; we find together with the above bony type, black or dark hair, dark-brown or black eyes, swarthy or dark skin, and an irritable nervous disposition, fiery quick temper, and great capacity for friendliness and friendship.

In early historic times we find this race represented by the Iberians of Spain (the Iberian peninsula), by the Vascones of Biscay and Aquitania, by the Ligurians, by the Silurians of Wales, by the Ivernians of Ireland, and the so-called black Kelts of Cornwall, Strathclyde, and the Scottish Highlands. The term of black Kelts arose because of an original idea that the earliest aboriginal inhabitants of Britain were the historic Geltae; this dark type was well recognised then but difficult of explanation. Strabo remarks that the ancient Greeks considered that Iberia extended before their time from beyond Spain to the Rhone, thus giving a clue as to the advance in part of the Celts through Europe. Whoever this race, or rather peoples of kindred races were, they must have extended at one time throughout the whole of Europe, overflowing even into North-Western Africa, to form with a certain admixture of negroid blood in time the race of the Berbers; in language, customs, laws, and habits, they probably differed only as much from each other as the members of the German peoples some few centuries ago.

These people, whom we will call Turanians, came from Central Asia according to all present-day evidence; their melanochroic features and characteristics point to the genesis of their race being in a semi-tropical climate, such as Central Asia would possess to the southward of the Asiatic Mediterranean, or what remained of it at that time. From the same centre probably sprang the Shemitic races, and the stock from which came the American races as a vital growth, and the Mongolians as a degenerate offspring in the then terrible swamplands of southern China. Behind these races, products of the plains, were developing in the mountain ranges stretching away to and centring in the Hindu Kush, the Xanthochroic division of mankind, afterwards to be known as the Aryan stock; their features gradually passing more and more to the fair type as the colder climate told upon them, their

greater labour for means of existence causing the development of a larger physique, a more stable nervous system, and a greater fixity of mental purpose and rationality. The quicker growing races of the eastern plains, as the swamps dried up, would have to disperse to better localities for finding or cultivating their requisite subsistence : one way that would be opened up would be to the north of the mountain tribes, and in this direction at first, part of them afterwards passing to the south by the east of the Himalayas, the swarms whose descendants would populate America, China, Tartary, and Malaya as a half blood race, would extend. As the pressure eased off a little by the western advance of the European Turanians, so the Aryan races would extend outwards under the same compulsion as to scarcity of food and necessaries : the first division would be that which we know of as the Geltae, they would extend along the southern shore of the Caspian, through Asia Minor into Europe ; one branch of this pioneer division of the Aryan stock, trying to extend to the southward, became stationary, and gave rise to the Persians in aftertime.

We know that about 2200 B.C. (to take Hommel's calculations) there were grave disturbances in Western Asia, resulting in the eruption of a fighting race under the Shepherd Kings into Egypt. Probably this was a Turanian people impelled by an impact wave from their home north of the Lebanon ; if the Phœnicians were, as I believe, a half-blood Turanian-Shemitic race, this fact of consanguinity would account for the friendly relations now springing up between Phœnicia and Egypt.

About this same time we know from the sacred Sanscrit writings that the Aryan race descended from all the northern passes of India in endless swarms on to the fertile plains of Hindustan ; the same cause resulting in their progress to the south would be enough to send another branch north into Western Siberia, to struggle for existence into the race destined

to be the common ancestors of the Germans, Scandinavians, Saxons, and Sclavs. The Persians possess in the Avestas the tradition of their land of the "Aryan seed," goodly and fertile, afterwards being cursed by a winter of ten months' spell; evidently a tradition of a part of their race whilst forced upwards into the higher mountains of their early home.

As just stated, it is impossible to say when the first Turanian Neolithic men arrived in Europe; certainly not less than some eight thousand years ago; his bronze-using successors following on about 4000 B.C., to found the ancient and almost unknown civilisations of the Etruskans, Sardones, Achaians, and Lykians. But the bronze-using Turanians never arrived in Britain, which "was inhabited from the beginning to the close of the Neolithic Age by the same small race in the same stage of culture" ("Early Man in Britain"). They only acquired the use of this metal from the conquering Kelts. On the other hand, on the continent have been found the remains of both races in the same Neolithic tomb; to judge from analogy the one would be a man of the conquering race, the other a slave wife of the conquered sent by sacrifice to bear company to her husband in the spirit land. If then the first swarms of Kelts were only Neolithic men, it is readily understandable how it was that a strong and well-armed nation of Turanian-Shemitic extraction could later on push its way up the Danube and along the Balkans until it settled in the fertile plains of Northern Italy and elsewhere. The only point that resistance of any importance could be made would be in the land of Northern Greece, whither the use of metal would easily have extended by that time. Here and there portions of this race (the Geltae) stayed behind in the course of their advance and became isolated by themselves; those remaining in Asia Minor became strong enough to bequeath their name to the province of Gallicia. We cannot tell when it was that the Gauls entered Europe; we know that they had reached to the Alps by the

sixth century B.C., if not before, and that their more vitally organised tribal communities were the means of crushing the atrophying commercialised nation of Etruria, a task which Rome perhaps could not have accomplished alone. That they twice sacked Rome itself, retreating afterwards with their spoils to their northern homes in Lombardy, and that they raided Greece in 279 B.C., is also well known.

Wherever the Iberians had lain in contact with the Gauls we find that a highly vital half-blood race sprang up, of usually this type—tall, well-built, lithe physique, longish head, dark hair, blue or grey eyes, and darkish but not swarthy skin. These races were known as the Kelt-Iberians in Spain ; as the Kelto-Ligures of Plutarch ; as the grey-eyed and brown-haired Kelts of Gaul, inhabiting according to Cæsar the regions between the Garonne and the Loire ; as the Picts and Scots of Britain ; and now as certain ethnological islands in the mountain ranges of Europe. The earliest inhabitants of Greece, leaving out the aboriginal Turanians, possibly mingled with some Shemitic blood, would be a race formed from the admixture of these and the earliest division of the Kelts, afterwards added to by pure blood invaders of the typical tall, blonde, blue-eyed appearance, with oval face and thin regular features.

From their home in Northern Siberia the original race of the Northmen would be compelled to migrate in time, over the Urals and along the northern shores of the Black Sea they would flow in endless tribe after tribe towards the west. Some might prefer to descend towards the south and join with those who overthrew the civilisations of Babylon and Nineveh ; the traditions of the Northern Sagas, describing their demigods as fighting their way through Russia into Scandinavia from these regions, probably record an historical fact of a tribe, powerful and highly civilised owing to their contact with these old civilisations, acting in this manner. One branch of this Northmen race became entangled for centuries in the interminable swamp-

lands of Southern Russia, the pestiferous fever-breeding climate in the summer months, added to the inevitable degeneracy produced by swampland life, resulted in the Aryan sub-division of the Sclavs, with their coarser features and build, their grosser physique, and more sensualised standard of mentality.

The most northern branch, under the rigorous climate of the sub-boreal regions, with the continual need of persistent struggling to survive, developed into the Scandinavians with their powerful and well-developed physique, their blonde or reddish tint of hair and azure-blue eyes, their regular features, and untiring and inexhaustible energy. Between these two extremes lay the great bulk, known as the Teutones, to be feared by Roman militarism as the German tribes; from the contact of these with the Kelts sprang the Belgae of history, with all traits intermediate between the two races. These latter passed over into Britain, being then in the iron stage, about the second century B.C., for by the time of Cæsar's invasion they had been unable to extend further north than the Thames, or west of the Isle of Wight. These Northmen races caused the downfall of the Roman Empire, for they ultimately forced their way through Europe in one devastating stream, conquering all its peoples and sweeping away almost all its civilisations excepting in the portion to the northwest of the Empire, that is Ireland, and the larger portion under Grecian influence and control. Historians mention the Cimbri or Teutones—a half-blood race like the Belgae or one of close alliance is probably meant—as coming into contact with the Romans in Gaul in 102 B.C., with the ultimate result of defeat. In the middle of the third century A.D. the Goths and Franks of this Aryan division of mankind began to really menace Rome. Although held in check for a time, and even admitted into the Roman Empire as subjects of a type of an unpliant mould, they finally, under the leadership of Alaric as king of a confederation of the Western Goths, sacked and

destroyed the Imperial City itself in 410 A.D. In 414 A.D. these same Goths entered Spain and established a feudalised nation over the conquered, but for some time the peninsula was only part of a West Gothic kingdom occupying Aquitania as well, with a capital at Toulouse. One branch of the Teutonic races settled in Italy; and one portion, the Vandal, passed over into Northern Africa. Another portion occupied the south-eastern portion of France under the name of the Burgundians; and another took possession of the rest of France by the end of the fifth century, but in mutual alliance and in equal union with the Turanians and the Turanian Kelts of Armorica, so stubborn had been the resistance of these latter. This later Frankish confederation gained supremacy over their kindred in time, giving their name to the whole country of France. But before this happened the Aryan stock in the Western world had to fight a war to decide whether Europe for the future should be Aryan or not. All this perpetual westward trend of these races was for two centuries or more the result of impact waves from some Mongolian nation in the far east; whoever this people was, it drove out the Turanian Huns from Western China, who in time arrived in the west of our own continent. So powerful did they prove in their onset that the Aryan race had to rally at Chalons in 451, and it required in that battle all the efforts of the Teutonic Goths and Franks, and Romanised Kelts of Gaul, to break their power; this was the precursor of several battles upon which has depended the supremacy of Christianity and Orientalism. The Huns retreated under Attila to without the Roman Empire, and settled in the plains and pastureland of Hungary, as we now know it.

During all this time, since the Roman Empire had begun to decline, certain races to the north of the Teutons had acted to Roman Britain as these had to Roman Gaul. In the first century A.D. the Saxons are first mentioned as occupying the

district on the eastern shore of the Baltic, somewhat about and below the present St. Petersburg. Taking into consideration the racial peculiarities of the Sclavs and the Teutons, I think we may consider the members of this (the Saxon) confederation as an intermediate race between these two peoples, and that they had emerged from out of the centre of Russia along the Baltic rivers from thence, probably arriving at the Baltic with no little skill in river and swamp navigation. Before long they extended westwards, the impact waves from the Huns being partly the cause of their migration, they occupied Jutland as the Jutes, Scleswic-Holstein as the Angles, the mouth of the Elbe as the Saxons, and the Frisian Isles as the Frisians. Perpetually marauding to the west, they settled in Holland, Northern France, and Britain, and so troublesome did they become that about 250 A.D. they could only be kept from Britain by a special Roman officer and fleet protecting its eastern coast, then known as the Saxon shore. When the Roman legions left Britain defenceless before them they swept in, occupying the country before long as far as Devon, the Welsh borders, Strathclyde, and the Scottish Highlands. Wherever else they could obtain a footing on the British coasts, their wicks or towns sprang up.

How the present Western nations in time, through the chaos of perpetual war, came to be of the character and condition they are now, is not an ethnological affair, it is a question affecting the drum-and-trumpet historian who views the world from a class automorphic standard, whilst he either ignores or is ignorant of the socio-vital processes through which a nation evolves. Three more invasions, destined to affect the future of Barbarian Europe, still remain to be recorded. The Saracens invaded Spain from Africa in 710 A.D.; in a few years they conquered all but the Basque and northern provinces. The Iberian blood was not absolutely foreign to their own, and perhaps for this reason it took some seven centuries

to expel the Mussulman rulers, the mixed race of the people however remained. They advanced into France, occupied part of it, and another decisive battle between Christendom and Orientalism was fought and won by the Franks at Tours in 732 A.D.

The Slavonic race had, in the meantime, been growing so rapidly that it was in time compelled to send out branches to the westward, the lines of resistance being least in that direction. They began to migrate about 700 A.D., and settled in Servia, Dalmatia, and other parts to the south-west; a half-blood Slavonic-Turanian race occupied Bulgaria. To the north-west they sent off the nations of the Wends, Lithuanians, Poles, Old Prussians, and Czechs or Bohemians, probably with some admixture of Turanian blood, certainly such is the case with more than one. The normal rate of increase, and the pressure of these races, compelled the Scandinavian Northmen to leave the country of the Saxon-Angle confederation they had occupied after the departure of the latter, also to migrate from Scania proper. They overflowed into Britain, ultimately occupying all the portions previously held by the Angle-Saxons, in time amalgamating completely after some centuries of warfare, until by 1066 A.D. they were practically one race. These Norsemen conquered Normandy and Sicily, establishing kingdoms in both places, and sacked and looted the rest of Europe wherever their ships could float pretty much as suited them best, being known as the Ravagers of the World and the northern wolves of the sea.

We thus see that the racial composition of our Islands would be somewhat as follows: That Turanian or Neolithic man entered Britain some two or three thousand years after he crossed over from Asia Minor, the distance by the most probable routes from the Dardanelles to our own coasts being about 2,000 miles. That there were successive bursts of advance we learn from the legendary

history of Ireland, where four waves of invaders of different races are mentioned previous to the Keltic era. Following this people came the Goidelic Kelts, using metal by the time they reached Britain, probably about 2000 B.C.; after these came the Brythonic Kelts or Gaels, about the same time that they began to threaten Italy, about 500 B.C.; after these the Belgae, about 150 B.C., with their higher form of civilisation, and greater capacity for combination. About 200 years after this came the Romans in earnest, after their preliminary incursion in 55 B.C. At this time a racial atlas of our islands would have exhibited somewhat the following aspect. The Turanian races would exist in the west and south of Ireland, in the West country of England, in the greater part of northern Wales and of Strathclyde, and north of the Moray Firth. In the rest of Ireland a mixed race, the Picts, excepting on the north-eastern coasts, where the Goidels would still remain a pure race from recent immigrations. A Pictish race would exist on the borders of the Iverian peoples in Great Britain, especially where the latter were making the greatest resistance. The Belgae were found only in south-eastern Britain to the south of the Thames and west of the Isle of Wight. Between these and the half-blood Picts would lie the Kelts—the Goidels first, and the Brythons behind them resting on the Belgae; probably the latter had not advanced beyond Yorkshire to the north and the Midlands on the west. Probably before the entry of the Belgae another people, half Brythonic, half Scandinavian, had entered Britain, the latter element having been driven on ahead and divided from its parent stock when the Saxons forced their way to the Baltic. This idea is founded on the physical appearance of certain of the Caledonian tribes, which has usually been considered to be explainable only by such an admixture of blood; and by the fact that authorities as General Pitt Rivers and others, consider that the Danes' Dyke and similar earthworks in Yorkshire can only be explained by the supposition of their

being used to defend systematic advances from the sea. Such a tribe would naturally work down in their row-boats in the route that the Saxons afterwards took, down by Denmark and the Frisian Isles, thence up the east English coast until they arrived to where the people were less advanced in capacity for organisation and warfare, possibly possessing but little more than Neolithic weapons with which to oppose their bronze-using invaders. That some writers have considered Boadicea to possess some Teutonic blood is not an impossible fact with this explanation.

The Romans left no new race, but a very cosmopolitan people would spring up around their *coloniæ* and *castra* with a paternal element drawn from every quarter of the Roman Empire. Before they had been here long the members of the Saxon-Angle confederation commenced to settle on the Saxon shore of Britain ; in their turn they forced all the previous races to submit as slaves or coalesce through pressure to form one people, as the Welsh, whether of Cornwall and Devon, Wales, or Strathclyde. A similar process would take place in the Scottish Highlands ; perhaps in the extreme north of Caledonia and certainly in the south-west of Ireland, the Ivernian race held its own for some centuries A.D. as a distinct people.

To what extent the Norsemen afterwards conquered the Saxons in the south of England, and the Angles in old Northumbria, is well known ; both these maritime peoples planted settlements on any coast they could manage to occupy. The Norman invasion resulted in no new race elements, it imported an insufficient proportion of slave-class members to affect the English population ; the chief change was as regards the slaver-caste, composed for the invasion and recruited afterwards from all the military vagabonds and mercenary cut-throats of Europe, and, as a sequence, of unemployed courtiers and ecclesiastics ambitious of worldly preference. Of such elements is composed, for the most part, the vaunted Norman blood. In

any one part of Britain, excepting that held by the aboriginal Ivernians, would be found, as slaves and their descendants, representatives of every other race that had previously occupied that special portion.

It will thus be seen that we have represented in our present national blood elements of all races in the rest of Europe, the excitability and keener perceptivity of the Keltic-Ivernian constitution being balanced by the more unflinching steadfastness of purpose and the stolid mentality of Saxon-Scandinavian origin. If heredity and the perpetual effort to exist count for anything, we thus see how it is that our present character as a nation, egoistical and imperfect as it is, stands first and foremost amongst the nations of the earth in altruism and human progressence.

Space will admit of no more than the merest outlines, beyond that already stated in previous chapters, of the social state of Barbarian Europe. To satisfy "hunger" in its widest senses would be to describe the economics of material wants, including not only the supplying of natural wants, but whatever confers pleasure or the enjoyment of beauty as well.

The basis of all industry rests on the production of food-stuffs and rearing of stock; hunting results in turning certain natural raw material into utilities or commodities, not in creating such from the source of all wealth, the land, either directly or indirectly. Neolithic man, on entering Europe brought with him in their more primitive forms the originals of our present products of ordinary agriculture and live-stock, and only very slowly did his successors improve in methods of labour. The chief difference lay in the organisation of labour as regards these occupations. Before slavery deeply affected society—and at first it was of the domestic variety—a clan village cultivated its tilled lands and herded its cattle in common, for common use of all. With slavery as a recognised institution, rather, as the recognised means for the acquisition of wealth and the

devolving of the duty of labour on others, the ever-spreading anti-social race for wealth would begin. When man is unsocialistic enough to enslave a stranger the thin edge of the disintegrating wedge of unsocialism is present as regards his kindred and offspring. Hence, a family would soon demand its share of land to be used individually as to its profit, if a family was unfortunate in tillage it would have to be beholden to others for subsistence, another incursion would be made into the principle of mutuality. A conquering race comes on the scene ; all war originates in the desire to become surplus-value takers by force, or by causing fear of death as the alternative to the refusal to labour to the utmost and hand over all but a mere subsistence pittance to the conquering thief, for such the surplus-value taker is, whether his action be legalised by statute or not, or blessed and praised by a dependent church. The result is that those submitting to existence on such terms lived in a serf village attached in ownership to a village of the conquerors, the former being allowed to retain just sufficient land as will barely subsist themselves, all spare time being spent in tilling their conquerors' property. Can it be that Aristotle was unaware of this custom ? for he severely criticises the Republic of Hippodamas when the latter proposes that husbandmen "are to labour in one district, consisting of their private estates, for their own maintenance, and another, consisting of the common lands, for the maintenance of the military." Mr. G. L. Gomme, whose whole work of "The Village Community" bears on this subject, concludes : "The tribal communities of all the Aryan stocks are proved to have possessed the germ of the village of serfs resting under their headship." Feudal militarism conquers the tribal conquerors and reduces them to a like state, as in Norman Britain, and in the old confederation of Aquitania, which only made peace with the conquering Goths by giving up two-thirds of its land and one-third of its slaves,

the land left being the necessary amount for bare subsistence alone. Amongst Barbarians the production of wealth is, as a rule, carried out for immediate use alone; whatever articles are manufactured are hand-made, and rarely for exchange, each locality, often each village, supplying its own wants and requirements. In early ages each man or woman is almost always capable of making their own household gear, clothing, weapons, and tools; but before long, especially as regards certain trades, those of blacksmith, goldsmith, potter, weaver, and carpenter, we find specialisation of labour. The men following these occupations, together with certain others, the herdsman, the watchman, the village headman, and any other person holding an office conferring public benefit, in early clan organisation become village officials, contribute their labour free, receiving their share of produce from the land tilled by others. When blood-relationship is no longer the common-tie of the village, but ownership of a house confers the bond of union, the same officers usually exist with special claims upon the common land of the village or townlet. Transport amongst Barbarians is in its most primitive state, roads being absent, roughly cleared paths, passing around obstacles and up and down hill as seems best, being the chief means of communication. Along the coast-lines and on the rivers there exists the only chance for transport other than by head-loads or packs carried on the back; the winter's ice and spring floods affording often the only chance of swampland districts being traversed, the drying up of mountain torrents also affording a troublesome pathway into otherwise inaccessible bush.

Exchange is by barter, until outside influence brings in currency: at first we may say that there is primitive barter consisting of direct exchange of articles, then comes in standard barter, an ox or a slave usually being settled by custom as the unit of value by which all other articles are measured. Barter existed amongst the working-class barbarians of Europe until

well into the middle-ages, the passing of the truck acts marking the final termination of this custom.

In the simple clan system of the patriarchal family all power of administration and authority is vested in the head of the family, he combines in himself the present slaver-caste functions of organiser, lawyer, priest, and military leader. With the coalescence of families into a clan* we often find three principal chieftainship offices, those of the peace-chief (the ordinary administrator and source of justice), the war-chief, chosen for war and at that time supreme, and the priest-chief, with before long a struggle for supremacy of any one of these, or for their emergence into one office, in fact, as now in theory, in the case of our Sovereign. But usually the two first amalgamate, leaving only the religious and ecclesiastical office: confer the Spartan custom; the Hebrew Moses and Aaron; the custom in Druidical times. The later institution of the Roman Emperor in Germany being the civil head of the then Roman Empire, the Pope being the ecclesiastical chief, was, of course, an extension upwards of the principle. Just as in the tribal organisation we arrive to class specialisation of labour amongst the slave-class, so in the slaver-caste we find specialisation commencing in the formation of military and priesthood classes.

Even tribal barbarians never advance to stone-built houses as we consider building; their defensive works are but little more than stones piled together; trained cavalry are almost unknown; the battle-array is formed merely of coalescing groups of blood relations; the wagon of the Teutons and the chariot and the primitive reaping machine of the Kelts denote their greatest capacity of invention. Capacious open boats are the greatest advance towards a marine; † writing, except

* Compound clan.

† Where other than symbolic writing exists amongst present-day tribal organisations, it is obtained from higher civilisations.

in its rudest symbolic stage, is unknown; a merchant class is just commencing to arise; the sciences are founded on deduction from imagination, this taking the place of induction on fact.

In its widest sense the term Love covers all human relationship that results in harmonious and perfectly ordered existence, whether it relate to all individuals, to one specially alone, to all life, or to the Source of Life as well. A correspondence, to be orderly and fully rhythmical, must claim no more re-action than can be filled by its own action, it cannot expect to be other than disorderly and unharmonious if it claims for its action anything more than is granted by the consequent re-action.

In barbarian life there is no such thing as love as we know it now, although that at present for most of even our own special race is only a matter of this century;* there is only what may be termed physical preference, and that often only temporary in duration. In such society marriage must be a one-sided existence, with all the privileges on the side of the stronger sex, and all the duties imposed on the other; in such a state the female sex is a slave-class, exploited for the benefit of the other. The historical case of the honour paid by the Teutons to their womenfolk does not really go against this statement; it can only have referred to the women of the slaver-caste, for King Ethelbert of the Saxons at the beginning even of the seventh century made laws relating to the purchase of wives. When the Teutons lived in their bleak northern homes in Siberia it would be physically impossible for a man to support more than one wife owing to the rigorous climate, hence there would be no departure from what would appear to be the probable earlier condition of this race when they were equally hard pressed as mountaineers. With the growth of private property woman for the first time became free, but this *in a privileged caste alone*.

* Written in the nineteenth century.

Then commenced the growth of the psychical and spiritual aspect of marriage, lifting it up to a different plane altogether, with infinite advantage, through the effect on children born under those conditions, to humanity at large. When property is socialised, and independence due to the fulfilment of the duty of labour is conferred on all women, the child of an unwilling maternity will not be born to retard human progressence. The legends of Sappho the immortal, of Helen of Troy, and the personality of Diotima related by Plato, all point to the time when freedom on the part of womenkind gave birth to the romance of love; such as these on a lesser plane were the *Hetairai* of Greece; the growth of Chivalry, and of Minstrelsy with its courts of Love, although the latter was selfish in origin rather than otherwise, point in this direction to a change of the attitude of man to woman later on in mediæval Europe. Concurrent with the growth of this feeling arose teachers of a wider humanity than family, caste, or village: the Buddhist faith preaching the duty of brotherly love of all Buddhists to all fellow-religionists; the Hebrew religion admitting the stranger and the slave to certain rights unknown before; and the Socratic creed, acknowledging the universality of life, are cases in point.

Once man lost his original monotheistic creed, assuming him to have possessed one, he had to work out a religion for himself; and, although previous to the Christian era, some men acknowledged an unknown God, this was only the case with individuals, and never with a people *en masse*. Working through naturalism, the worship of the great and inexplicable objects of nature which we think we know much of and at the foundation know but little about, primitive man arrived at animism and populated the earth, sky, sea, and unknown regions, the woods, rivers, mountains, and swamps, the wind, the storm, and the rain, and almost every natural object and process, with a spirit or demon responsible for the object's or process' existence.

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The more intellectual class of mankind, being gifted with a higher form of intellectuality than the majority, able to exercise a certain amount of deductive, and afterwards inductive, reasoning, and therefore apparently in alliance with these unseen powers through their ability to prognosticate events unforetellable to the puerile many, soon conclude that to rule by fear and annex surplus-value through superstition is easier and better than to rule through bloodshed and direct force. Hence the growth of the priesthood caste, even yet in alliance with the other members of the slaver-castes of civilisation, Church and the Vested Interest State working hand in hand from thence until now. To further this priest-craft rule the ancient mythologies were built up, with all their extravagant tales, their customs demanding bloodshed and cruelty, and the impassable gulf of ignorance, fraud, and deceit imposed upon the many. There was no thought of the abolition of slavery (and barbarism is contingent upon it), until the teachings of early Christianity began to permeate human society ; nor was war, upon which all slavery is founded, considered to be wrong until then ; the fact that even now the priesthood caste is silent before the evils of wage-slavery, and never agitates against their kindred vested interests waging war, is only proof of how far religion has gone adrift in trying to reconcile the needs of Mammon with the commands of God.

CHAPTER VI. WESTERN FEUDALISM.

Early feudalised nations. The analogues in corporeal and mental disease to equivalent states in an unhealthy society—excessive class power and class apathy alike lead up to diseased states. The co-ordinating unit in societies—the various States of: Timocracy (Aristocracy)—Oligarchy (Plutocracy)—Ochlocracy (mob-rule)—Social Democracy (whole-state rule). Pseudo-Democracy, or middle-class rule. Feudalism, or State founded on land tenure—this the condition of the Teutonic races in historic times. The Village Community. The early forms of land and franchise tenure—both interdependent. Effect of the Teutonic Conquest of Western Europe upon the races concerned. Municipalities are outgrowth of the village system. Feudalism in France—the king in his relationship to it—feudal power and the worker. Risings of the proletariat—treatment thereof by the ruling caste then, and that class's scribes now. Pre-conquest Saxon Feudalism—Norman Feudalism—changes introduced by William I. Different relationships of kings to ruling caste in France and in England. The condition of the English servile classes—supremacy of the Crown. Military caste revolt under John—revolt of lower middle classes, aided by serfs, under Simon de Montfort. Social state of the people. Influence and effects of Christianity. Feudalism elsewhere in Western Europe.

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT.

Thro' the mists of years, thro' the lies of men,
Your bloody sweat and tears, your desperate hopes and fears
Reach us once again.

Brothers, who long ago, for life's bitter sake,
Toiled and suffered so, robbery, insult, blow,
Rope and sword and stake:

Toiled and suffered, till it burst, the brightening hope,
"Might and right" "and will and skill," that scorned, and does, and
will,
Sword and stake and rope.

Wat and Jack and John, Tyler, Straw, and Ball,
Souls that faltered not, hearts like white iron hot,
Still we hear your call!

Yes, your "bell is wrung," yes, for "now is time!"
Come hither every one, brave ghosts whose day's not done,
Avengers of old Crime,—

Come and lead the way, hushed implacable,
Suffering no delay, forgetting not that day,
Dreadful, hateful, fell,

When the liar King, the liar Gentlemen,
Wrought that foulest thing, robbing, murdering,
Men who trusted them !

Come and lead the way, hushed implacable.
What shall stop us, say, on that day, *our day?*—
Not unloosened hell !

—Francis Adams.

THE date of the first feudalised nation in Europe must be put back to a time prior to the first European invasion of Egypt, in the middle of the second millennium B.C.; at that time the confederation of the tribes affected was probably weak and temporary; still, some common centre of authority there must have been. Such an organisation had been the condition of affairs in the Asiatic and Egyptian empires for some 3,000 years before this date; in the latter empire we read, in Genesis xlviii., of how the landed aristocracy sold their possessions under the duress of famine to the king, an account we may regard as true, seeing that so much else has been corroborated by recent discoveries. We are fortunately able to trace through the history of Greece the early evolution of governmental forms, from the tribal state upwards, for written history commences with the feudalised nation. Co-incident with the evolution of a superior intellectual caste fitted to rule and consolidate a confederation of allied tribes, we have also the development of an inferior but necessary order, and yet only inferior after a long struggle with militarism, of intellectual men who become the writers and historians, originally of the priesthood caste.

In previous chapters we have seen how it is that a slave-caste originates, and, regarding it as a social aggregate with an analogous existence to that of the social unit it is composed of, and of the next and lower unit again that composes the human unit, a physiological organ is referred to, we will find it living somewhat as follows.

From the very nature of its existence, from the fact that a slave-class, owing to their prolonged toil, have no energy left

for re-action on their superiors, even if their mentality was sufficient, a slaver-caste can possess no healthy and normal correspondences opposed to their actions ; we find, then, certain processes in their social organism analogous to those of disease in the individual, whether such be regarded as an aggregate of physical organs or as an intellectual being.*

The excessive use of power, ultimately for pleasure and luxury alone, without the least regard to consequences to the organic whole—for a chattel-slave class perform functions deputed on them from others, but have no power to re-act—leads up to an unhealthily active condition of mind in the slaver-caste, certain functions being excessively performed, and others almost totally neglected. This corresponds to excessive intellectual egoistical activity in the social unit, and the hyperaemic congestion underlying that in the brain, his intellectual organ ; corresponding conditions would exist, however, whatever the function affected, whether in the digestive, assimilative, or reproductive systems. The result is resolution of the hyperaemia, and mental recovery, *i.e.*, restoration of the balance of authority, if the whole organism affected exerts itself and demands recovery whilst it may ; in the ruling caste it amounts to other social units causing, for example, a constitutional monarchy to be brought about. But, if there be failure to establish the necessary compensation, there may be a total breakdown altogether, the hyperaemic state may pass into the dissolution of abscess in the case of tissue, or the mental condition into the ruin of acute mania, or in a State the uncontrolled re-action of a slave-class at last aroused may lead up to armed revolt of a conquered race and obliteration of the rulers.

On the other hand, the increased actional activity may become permanent, a certain duration of time being sufficient to allow of fixity of form, although such be abnormal. Where

* Chapter XII., Table XIV.

a certain amount of orderly but yet insufficient correspondence of action and re-action is kept up, we obtain hyperplasia in the one case, with subsequent normal atrophy of tissue ; mental insanity in the individual, in acute spells, terminating in melancholic inactivity ; and irresponsible caste government resulting in natural decay of power, as newer generations are born below the ruling clique, with capacity to assert themselves ; in this manner did English feudalism pass away.

But hyperplasia need not terminate thus ; if the correspondences be subsequently or originally sufficiently irregular and disorderly, we obtain a parasitic cancerous growth in the organ with its ultimate breakdown ; we find that the corresponding mental state of sub-acute maniacal spells, as distinct from that form of acute mania which lasts for days and usually ends fatally, leads up to a complete subversion of mentality or intellectuality and to some permanent illusion or delusion ; we find in the social aggregate true caste autocracy leading up to absolute parasitism and breakdown of the ruling clique, as in the break-up of French feudalism last century.

If any aggregate through insufficient activity be prevented from performing its functions of action upon the outer world, either through the means to so doing being denied, or through inability to do so from persistent refusal to act, the result is anæmic atrophy in the organ from insufficient reparation ; in the unit of mankind it is cerebral legarthy from want of external stimuli of the proper or sufficient varieties ; it is social inertia from neglect of common duties in the class affected.

But changes somewhat complicating this latter condition take place in a ruling class, owing partly to units in that caste making matters ultimately worse by devolving functions they ought to perform on someone they imagine to be more suitable than themselves, and owing to units beneath them asserting their power as well. The historical *Timocracies*, or military

feudal states, established by a conquering race on the slave-class of a conquered people, of Crete and Sparta, these being about the first two accurately described in history, seem to be the natural form of a healthy ruling caste. The co-ordinating unit is at first the elected king, and in the ancient idea of the word we find that he is originally regarded as the true man, the superior cosmical being, the upright, erect, and straight man, the being who is virilely virtuous, in the then idea of the term.* As the units of this feudal aristocracy lose touch of their community of life in the growth of individual selfishness, they allow the post of king to become hereditary, partly because the ruling family through exercise of functional activity remains virile the longest, partly to prevent internecine struggle to succeed to the post on the decease of any occupier. This co-ordinating unit may be also known by other names than that of king. Sometimes before an aristocracy evolves to the state of an hereditary sovereign, the members of the trading and intellectual classes below, having become qualified through commercial labour, they usually springing from the chieftain class of the conquered, demand and take possession of the power of government. An Oligarchy is now in power; usually, however, this Plutocracy comes into existence after hereditary succession to the leadership of the state has been recognised.

Occasionally an aristocracy or timocracy will last until the sovereign unit becomes autocratic, or tyrant in the modern sense, from sheer inability of any classes below his special clique to take from out of his hands the functions of government. But before this stage is reached, either under a feudal aristocracy or a plutocratic oligarchy, there may be such intense disintegrating processes at work, that we reach the condition of mob-government or Ochlocracy, this condition being confused with the slaver Democracy of the ancients,

* Chapter XII., Tables IV., XI., XIII.

and with a different state again, that of the coming Socialised-Democracy of the state as one vital and organised whole. From Ochlocracy there are only two possible results: either a foreign race steps in and reduces all in the disintegrated nation to a slave-class with themselves as a ruling feudal caste, or the conflicting units themselves choose one co-ordinating centre of authority, the ancient tyrant, the more modern emperor or dictator of the Romans.

This chief magistracy, owing to supreme power being granted, the units beneath having no power to re-act in a healthy and sufficient manner, again degenerates into autocracy of the worst type, the more modern tyrant now exists, and except the ancient democracy forms, the nation's troubles have to recommence again. But sometimes this slaver-caste Democracy evolves in a fairly healthy nation in proper sequence from an Oligarchy, in such case the name by which the co-ordinating unit of the state is known is of little consequence if he be kept to his due and proper functions. But whether a slaver-caste Democracy evolves in regular sequence from a feudal timocracy through a commercial oligarchy, or through the pyrexial storms of mob-rule, the result is the same.

An oligarchy is founded on the divine right of individual property,* that it is no sin to hold the sources of life and the means of production with the prime object of benefiting a monopolist few, and religion steps in and furthers the idea, itself being represented by one of the slaver-castes. Everything is subordinated to individual gain; everything is measured by money-value; everything is foolish and stupid that has not rent, nor dividend, nor profit, for its object. Every function or duty that can be shuffled off on to others

* This is just the kind of expression that the vested-interests' critics do not or will not understand. Socialists object to property being held for profit at others' expense; for example, land, commercial capital, etc.; not to property for personal enjoyment alone.

of the slave-class, compelled perforce to labour thus or starve, is neglected, from defensive fighting by means of hired mercenaries, from offensive theft by force in like manner through the easier means of the establishment of a lawyer caste, by the retention of a priesthood class to subdue the puerile many through fear of death here or hereafter, and through the payment of a police force, retained by the big thieves to keep the little ones in order ; to neglect of the rearing of your own children, and the performance of the duty of helping others by deputy through "charity" and its dispensers. Everyone who does not seek money alone, who values honour, honesty, the joy of life, and humanity beyond a money-price, is either mad, or foolish, or eccentric ; the man, weighty in shekels, cunning to ensnare the defenceless and weak, rich in the physical force that he can purchase to enslave others, wealthy in means to take surplus-value from others who must create it or starve, is the good man, the great man, the being to be copied—the man.

The slaver-caste Democracy of ancient Greece always broke up in time from its inherent weakness of profit-making individualism ; the slave-class were too far behind them in human evolution to enter into the state in orderly rotation and become part of an organised whole. In these ancient democracies we find the slaver-caste springing from the conquering race, and the plutocracy, retaining in its organisation the remnants of the feudal timocracy, corresponding to and springing from the ruling families in the conquering tribe. The commonalty of that tribe, now raised to a middle class by the conquest, we find entering in time into the state with the plutocracy and forming the pseudo-democracy of Greece. In Roman history the plebeians correspond to the tribal commonalty, the patricians to the oligarchy in later times ; the slave-class, unable themselves to rule when the empire broke up, welcomed the more virile and closely-knit barbarian hordes.

Previous to 1884 A.D. in Britain we possessed a pseudo-democracy, with equivalent classes, the government, in reality an oligarchy with feudal survivals in its midst, ruling with the aid of a middle-class corresponding to the people or plebeians of the older states. Underneath them lay a slave-class, of whom part now are enfranchised, and that so recently that they are unable from so many countless generations of the policy of dividing the workers, either by religious or racial hatred, or by other sources of dissension, to recognise their organic oneness as a class ; but a very different class indeed are they now to that of older days. These latter were chattel-slaves, mostly of the puerile genus, full of brutality, ignorance, vice, superstition, speaking different tongues, unable to organise or understand each other, or trust each other if they had understood one another ; the British wage-slave, and his fellow in other lands of the northern blood, is mostly now of the *genus virile*, educated, and able to organise as soon as he can be aroused.* When that occurs we will evolve from the pseudo-democracy of the present to the Social-Democracy that is to come ; then the whole state will be co-ordinately organised, for when Socialism is perfected there will be no slave-class left out of it. Man, having then conquered his natural environment, can commence to conquer himself.

Understanding by the term feudalism a system of government built upon tenure of land conferring citizenship rights alone, a system that by its very nature could only be initiated by force and held by might in any country formerly occupied by another race, we know that all accounts of the Teutonic and allied races of the Deutsch blood, the Germans of Tacitus and other Latin writers, prove that these people were feudalised nations from the time that they are first mentioned by historians. That is to say, the form of organisation was that of tribes confederated under an elected head of the chief-

* See page 294.

tain caste as an army-leader or war-chief, *the heretoga*, whenever occasion arose; during times of peace each village and district valued its independent autonomy too highly to allow of the idea of a peace-chief as a national centre for many centuries; indeed, not until they overflowed into Keltic Gaul and had to face the hostility of a conquered population and the almost independent Roman coloniæ did they consent to a permanent national organisation. A priesthood caste did exist, doubtless with much power over the more ignorant; but it is never prominent amongst the heathen Teutons, and appears to have subsided into a secondary position to the military chieftain caste before the Christian era. To judge by the accounts given by Sidonius, Bishop of Clermont in the fifth century, we know that human sacrifices of captives still remained in force in the eastern German forests and on the Baltic coast-line at that time; even now, at Kazan in Europe in 1896, there were prisoners charged with such an offence. The heathen *scalds* that we know of in history were always subsidiary to the chief or king.

In all these northern countries the tribal organisation was virtually the same, namely a slaver-caste of land-owners resting on a slave-class; and this without the appendage of a serf-village, as was the custom afterwards in Western Europe. The reason would be that, at the time of these barbarian villagers entering Germany, Scandinavia, and Northern Russia, there was room for retreat to the West for the conquered races, and that they would retire rather than remain as serf-villagers rooted to the soil; in Great Britain, France, and Iberia, further retreat was impossible. The bond of union in the villages under tribal custom lay not in blood relationship so much as in a freeholder's rights; ultimately, the freeman could only point to possession of his house as evidence of his enfranchisement; but for a long time any householder was forbidden to sell his freehold except by leave

of the burghers of his hamlet or village. When this custom died the communal tenure, for such this was as distinct from individual holding, passed away, although for some time to come the arable and pasturage land went with the house. But this does not concern the customs of the Teutons in their early ages. To judge by the mass of evidence collected in "The Village Community," each village lived under a headman, afterwards known as a *thane*, his only reward for office being a larger share at the annual division of land, all offices being elective and annual in tenure at first. Each year the village common land was re-divided to prevent natural advantages causing undue wealth in any one lot; the typical village possessed the Town-lot divided amongst the householders, the arable land next to it, and the forest or pasturage land beyond, this latter often being used in common long after the other sections had passed under individual control. The first falling off from this communal tenure, the freehold being vested in the villagers as a whole, was when the annual division ceased, and right of use to certain land went with the occupation of a certain house or hut. Every householder or weaponed man had equal authority in the village council; here he was judged for crime, and outlawed or executed if need be, the curious custom of obliterating his house being the outward and visible sign of his total obliteration from his tribe. It was war that broke up this system and allowed of the accumulation of land for individual profit. A successful leader attracted followers who preferred war and change to the village routine of defensive fighting and agricultural labour; the greater his success the greater the number of retainers in his *comitatus*. These men were known to the Saxons as house-carls. Their pay was in booty and land; but although there was fixity of tenure at first as long as they were faithful to their leader, he possessed the freehold, as distinct from joint possession with his followers, in any one holding he

and the enjoyer of the usu-fruct were the only persons concerned.

When these Northerners invaded Gaul they retained this custom of land-tenure, but the understructure of society soon altered. The slave-class became largely augmented, the serf-village became attached to one of the conquerors, and the Roman towns remained for a time at least semi-independent under their municipal government. The landless freeman class now springs up, being in part composed of former slaves freed from policy, being able also to develop within the towns after finding refuge there. A slave had first to attach himself to someone, as existence for him in any country without a master was an impossibility. The tribal chieftain or *ealdorman*, the Northern *jarl*, as distinct from the village *thane*, equally with the latter but to a greater degree, enlarges his power and possessions, the prestige of successful leadership and the loosening of the ties of village unity subsequent on the conquest of an inferior race having been the chief factors leading up to change. He takes to himself land for individual use, sharing it in usu-fruct with his haus-carls, cultivating his own special portion by his own serf-village and domestic slaves ; in Angle-Saxon England the alderman required for his rank at least 4,800 acres, and the thane about 600 acres. Nobility had its origin in fitness for elective office, next the post became hereditary, finally, mere possession of the required amount of land could then, as now, convert a churlish possessor into a lord of the land.

The land held in communal possession by a municipality or village became known as *allodial*, in Saxon England as *folc-land* ; the individual freehold became known in England as *boc-land*, the conveyancing being done by deed or book of writing, formerly by some token, as a piece of turf, a branch of a tree, or a spear.

Much has been written about the municipality being a

Roman institution, but historical evidence goes to show that the position of the towns that sprung up in the Empire within the countries of a conquered race were very similar to towns within our Indian Empire at present. A Roman officer, equivalent to a Resident, supported by a cantonment or camp of troops, preserved order, but interested himself but little with local affairs that did not interfere with the preservation of peace, the collection of tribute, or the maintenance of trade. In any case, the Roman municipality must have sprung from out of the village system; it was a glorified village, with the addition of a class of landless freemen between the landed burghers and the slave-class proper. In Rome itself we reach the extreme of this system, the burghers become the patrician order, the plebeians become landless freemen, depending for support almost totally upon their patrician patrons. When the Roman Empire ceased most of the towns became semi-independent, ruled by a superior order of burghers; from this origin sprang the independent cities of mediæval Italy, one of which even now, San Marino, preserves its autonomy. In the Apennines we find Andorra representing the older independent village, just as Monaco is the survival of the independent feudal district, and Luxemburg of a ducal aggregation of *feus*.

From such beginnings just as related sprang the feudal systems of Western Europe, but they were a process of growth and did not mature for several centuries; and the ultimate results in France and England were not quite the same, the difference being greatly in the end to the advantage of Britain. In France the result was the formation of two great classes of *feus*, the royal or principal fiefs, held by dukes, marquises, or counts, being held immediately from the Crown; the arrière or subordinate fiefs being absolutely and totally dependent upon the former, owing no direct allegiance to the king. These latter were the lesser barons or châtelains, and

originally would be recruited from the freeholders of allodial land of the better class, for in lawless times it was better to submit to a powerful chief, with a claim upon him for help in case of need, rather than to remain independent until some freebooter came along. Possession then was nine points of the law; one lawful title to an estate was to have *seized* it. The members of this feudal slaver-caste were the administrators, justices, and leaders in war, each within their own district; might gave the only right to interference between the relationship of a feudal master and his dependents of the slave-class, for, in the words of a feudal law-book, "he might take all they had, alive or dead, and imprison them when he pleased, being accountable to none but God."* A law of that age granted to a feudal lord, if he returned from hunting in the winter with his feet frozen, the right to kill not more than two of his serfs and to disembowel them so that he might have his feet unfrozen through thawing them in their interiors.

Outside of the rank of secondary barons were knightly dependents of gentle blood, so-called, with all the privileges of the feudal order. Hallam says: "The distinct class of nobility became co-extensive with the feudal tenures. For the military tenant, however poor, was subject to no tribute, no prestation, but service in the field; he was the companion of his lord in the sports and feasting of his castle—the peer of his court: he fought on horseback—he was clad in a coat of mail—while the commonalty, if summoned at all to war, came on foot, and with no armour of defence. Every possessor of a fief was a gentleman, though he owned but a few acres of land, and furnished his slender contribution towards the equipment of a knight."

In the rural districts there were none of the "people" as we now think of the phrase; there was the feudal order and the serf-class; the few allodialists that existed were merely

* See advice to Charles I., page 185.

able to hold their own, and that in silence. The higher dignitaries of the Church were to all intents and purposes feudal lords with sub-feus under them ; all dues of their order they performed and exacted except personal service in war in their own case.

The King of France was for many centuries merely *primus inter pares* of the dukes of that land ; by superior wealth and power he made the relationship of the principal tenants the same to himself as these latter possessed to the arrière tenants ; he could not compel them to attend at any of the royal councils, and no law that a sovereign might make was binding upon a feu-holder excepting that the latter had consented to it. The King of France possessed no judicial or legislative powers over any of his tenants. These latter could not succeed, and exactly equivalent customs existed as to the lesser baronage, to any feu excepting through personal rendition of homage and the swearing of fealty ; for the investiture a relief equal to one year's produce of the estate was exacted. The tenant was bound to military service under certain conditions, and to provide a certain armed force according to the extent of his estate ; he was subject to no taxation in a direct manner, but was liable to render certain aids or pecuniary payments if he remained a leal holder of his feu. Whenever the daughter of a possessor of feus was married a certain aid was exacted, as even now by the sovereign house of Britain from the country at large ; the same was the case when the eldest son became a knight, that is, entered upon manhood rights, as now when he enters upon the married estate. In aids of all varieties the amount requisitioned was that which could be exacted without the trouble of using force. A contribution to ransom was another aid ; if a feu-holder wished to alienate his holding he had to pay over a part of its value as a fine ; if a vassal died without issue his estate reverted to his lord ; if he left a minor as heir the holder of

the principal feu became the guardian, rendering account to none, with power to marry a female heir to whomsoever he pleased.

The minor tenant had the right to attend at his lord's court of justice and to assist at his deliberations; the baron's and châtelain's courts even had the power of life and death.

The wealth necessary to support the barbaric splendour of feudalism, and to subsist the non-producers of the feudal-caste and their men-at-arms and servants, was necessarily wrung from the serf-class and from the chattel slaves; the latter possessed no rights, the former were *adscripti glebae* and unable to move from the estate.* There being no law but might, death being the possible penalty to disobedience, it followed that the serfs were absolute surplus-value makers, nothing being left to them of their produce except a bare subsistence pittance; every form of labour in serfdom was taxed to the uttermost. Even in France 100 years ago we find, to quote from the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* of June, 1889, "Without taking into account services to be paid for in kind, he (the peasant) was called upon to pay dîmes, tailles, capitulations, vingtièmes, and centièmes, corvées, aides, gabelles, etc. If he was desirous of selling in the markets open to him the produce of his labour, he was forced to pay the dues on mesurage, piquetage, minage, sterlage, palette, écuelle, pied fourchu, angayage, éprouvage, and étalage; that is to say, he was mulcted for each measure of grain sold; for each cow, pig, or sheep; for each load of wheat brought in by strangers; for each basket containing fowls, eggs, butter, and cheese, and each horse examined and sold."

Under feudalism of this type, there being no recognised co-ordinating centre, there could only be one of two results in the long run, either the fever-blaze of revolt against the slaver-

* Chapter XII., page 293.

caste whilst the former were at their greatest power, or successful revolution when natural atrophy had almost destroyed them. Owing to the fact that the King of France possessed only legislative powers within his own special domain it was only possible for him to call to the general assembly deputies from the burghers of his own towns, and this third estate was too small in number and too much alienated from the slave-class, being themselves of the slaver-caste, to benefit the nation at large. The spirit of the age of early feudal France is well shown by Mezeray. He relates that when the King of France (Hugh Capet), ordered the Viscount of Perigueux to raise the siege of Tours, reproaching him with the question—"Who was it that made him a viscount?" that the answer was: "Not you, but those who made you a king." Pity it was that the nobility could not understand equally the serfs' plea that it was upon his labour that feudalism was built up.

The revolt against feudalism in its prime began at Beauvais in 1357, extended almost throughout France, and was only crushed out when the nobility sank all their differences against the common foe in the shape of an outraged proletariat. In this way was Ghent crushed when it revolted by a like combination. In the same way we had the Peasants' War in England, and the insurrection of the German serfs later on; these were for the first time *national* movements of any proletariat, a community of suffering and wrongs having proved to descendants of different tribes, now able to somewhat speak the same tongue in each separate land and to understand each other better, that their cause was the same, that feudal rule was the enemy, and not this or that race, religion, or people. So great was the mad hatred of an outraged slaver-caste that they put down these risings with the greatest brutality and bloodshed, the knighthood of these lands chivalrously riding down half-naked and scantily-armed

mobs in their impenetrable suits of armour; chivalrous fair-play was not for the slave; the slaughter was only stayed for fear that no slaves should be left, for in that case an idler-caste could not exist. Bourgeois writers and editors were filled at the time of the Great Revolution, (equally such was the case at the Paris Commune), with the indignation of bathos and the anger of the mercenary, being moved to the saltest of crocodile tears, at the few thousands destroyed at the judgment of the aristocracy of France; the other side of the question, the tens of thousands of the proletariat shamefully killed in these revolts, justifiable because no other means of redress was open, and hundreds of thousands of lives shortened, not to mention the murder in serfdom of all the higher and nobler aspirations and feelings, is carefully ignored —to tell the truth would not pay.

The history of the atrophy of French feudalism belongs to another era.

We must now glance at the development of feudalism in Great Britain. The same anarchy lasted from the invasion of the men of the Northern blood in England, as in France, for several centuries. It is not until the beginning of the ninth century in our case that the social form of feudalism begins to definitely appear. But whereas from this time forward in France there is an ever-increasing tendency to irresponsibility on the part of the ruling class and to an ever-deepening slavery on the part of the serfs, we find but little change in England except in the co-ordinating power of the ruling class; for the constant invasions of the Danes kept up the feeling of mutuality as necessary between the privileged orders of aldermen and thanes on the one side, and the free allodialists of the communal folc-land on the other. And when the Danes did conquer they merely retained the same social forms, for they arrived in Britain in the same social state as had the Saxons some four hundred years before.

If Saxon England had not been harassed, and finally conquered by their backward kinsmen, we would probably have seen, from the time of the supremacy of the West Saxons under Ecgberht, a corresponding evolution in England as in France. This kingdom of Wessex, originally one of the special subdivisions of the old Saxon Confederation, at the beginning of the ninth century attained to sufficient strength to become the premier tribal aggregate in Southern Britain, reaching to this position from the weakening of the power of all the other kindred states from their greater liability to the Danish and Norwegian invasions. Ecgberht subdued the Cornish and Welsh to the extent that they acknowledged his overlordship, as did all Britain below the Forth, except the Britons in Cumberland, and the Scots of the Western Lowlands. Beyond the Forth a loose aggregation of clans held their own, excepting on the eastern coast-line where the Vikings settled, and in the extreme north of Caledonia a compact Pictish kingdom existed by itself. Alfred became acknowledged as King of England, the Danish king Guthrum admitting his overlordship ; from this date, 878 A.D., we possess one co-ordinating centre for England itself, with powers of supervision over all the Welsh. But this very extension of the power of the head of the state prevented the free allodialists from having any say as to who should be their king. It was possible for the majority to be present at the great tribal councils ; it was absolutely impossible when the area was that of a confederation of tribes. Hence, owing to lapse of use, not to forcible deprivation, the right of the free portion of the proletariat to elect the head of nation would pass away ; those who would be able to attend the national council were the higher members of the slaver-caste—the aldermen, earls, thanes, and ecclesiastics. From this time the freeholders of the folc-land began to sink from the position of members of the slaver-caste to become members of the slave-class, a mono-

poly of power by one class invariably resulting in exploitation of all others.

Under the first two races of French kings the crown of France was elective, consideration being claimed first by the ruling family; this was the case in England up to the time of the Conquest. The support granted by the free allodialists to their tribal leaders for the reason given just recently, these latter depending ultimately for election upon them, was sufficient to prevent Saxon feudalism from taking the form of owing allegiance within any area to an irresponsible head, as ultimately became the case in France. In the two countries almost reverse conditions held good. In France the king had just sufficient power to advance the theory that all feus were held at his pleasure, he choosing all the greater fief-holders as his military servants, in practice he possessed as concerned them neither juridical nor legislative powers. In England, owing to the support of the allodialists and Socmen, the nobility retained sufficient power to establish the theory, and to put it into practice, that the king was the elected head of the nation, he being the chosen national military leader; in practice he became the ultimate juridical and legislative head by common consent of those who chose him.

Just prior to the Conquest the form of society in England was roughly as follows. Upon a slave-class of domestic serfs, and of village serfs labouring for a folc-land village, or for an individual lord, these being the *theowas* or *esuas* of the Saxons, the *thraels* of the Danes, we find placed the feudal state of the conquering race. This in reality was founded upon the village community, although there was growing up to a marked extent the individual domains of the higher orders; the possessors of the folc-land and the landless men alike were both known as the *cheorls* or *churls*; the causes of the advent of the landless man have already been referred to.*

* See page 137.

Outside of the village community lay the aggregate known as the hundred, with a chosen magistrate, the hundred man or hundredary. The unit of the *hundred* is still unknown; it is by some supposed to have been a family, by some to have been a hide of land. Tacitus mentions this territorial division of land as existing amongst the Teutonic races. The next aggregate was that of hundreds forming the *trything* or *riding* under the trything man; ridings were formed into shires under the hertoch, duke, or count. These shires in most cases were the areas occupied by the descendants of one of the older Saxon tribes, the duke being the lineal descendant of one of the older kings; the word riding is also derived from *treding*, or third part, the larger shire being divided into thirds. Within the hundred existed the tythings or wards, each being a unit by itself for certain affairs, corresponding somewhat to our parochial areas, as the hundred does to the area of the District Council in rural districts. All freeholders in any one hundred were enfranchised for district affairs; the hundredary was elected under the sheriff's writ, and in time only petty offences, in addition to military and police duties, came to be under the cognisance of the hundred court. The county or shire court was usually held twice a year, under the sheriff or king's officer; in it all thanes could sit and vote. Each hundred could send delegates, usually five, to represent their grievances; but in earlier times these delegates themselves probably constituted the court in part. An assembly of all the thanes being unwieldy, a verdict was often entrusted to a chosen few, usually twelve in number. From the county court lay appeal to the King's court.

Above the *ceorls* were the *thanes*, next the *aldermen* or dukes, and lastly the king; bishops ranked with aldermen, and the lesser clergy as thanes; all these were entitled to sit in the *witena-gemot*, the assembly of the noble and wise. The lesser thanes probably ceased to attend in latter Saxon times

owing to the expense of the journey, sometimes almost from one end of England to the other ; the royal thanes could better afford to attend. Without the assent of this national council laws could not be made ; the ceorls had no part whatever in this assembly. All freemen who held land, either folc-land, or in individual tenure from a lord, were liable, according to their possessions, to military service with different specified equipments, to the making of roads and bridges, and to building and repairing fortresses, these national services being known as the *trinoda necessitas* ; this was the only service called for from the allodialists. But the haus-carls and other holders of individual land were liable to any other service, pecuniary or otherwise, demanded by their lord.

It will thus be seen how vastly different was Saxon feudal England before the Conquest to feudal France at the same time. In the lesser barons' court, corresponding to the hundred court, neither king, except in his own dukedom, nor people had any say in judicial or legislative matter ; in the greater barons' courts, equivalent to the shire-court, the same held good. France consisted of an agglomeration of social aggregates almost independent of one another, with only two classes in each, one with uncontrolled action, one incapable of re-action ; England in comparison was well organised and closely knit together as regards its social aggregates, with a well-marked and vital co-ordinating centre, with a serf-class and landless men incapable of re-action of probably less than one-fourth of the total population, to judge by the Domesday book returns.

No keener organiser nor far-seeing man ever occupied the English throne than William, Duke of Normandy. Invading England when half the country was repelling other invaders he defeated the Kentish levies and Harold's standing force of haus-carls more by the advantage granted by his archers than by anything else, this being an arm of offence but little used

in Britain hitherto. His force consisted of mercenaries paid for in part by the fines and aids of his tenants rather than of the Norman feudal nobility itself ; these sources of income to the overlord were the means of providing troops to keep in order the very persons granting them. Marching on London the Conqueror was chosen king on his promising to abide by the customs and preserve the liberties of the country ; but no national council could be said to choose. Still, the publication of the promise, on account of the influence it would have with the country at large, was probably what he specially aimed at.

He immediately set to work to develop a stronger feudalism than existed upon the Continent, fearing the power of the nobility, rather than the ill-will of the proletariat ; he aimed firstly at doing away with the elements of weakness to the crown as they existed in France. A series of revolts, rather against his mercenaries than himself, allowed of his annexing by 1086 almost all the land held by individual tenure in Britain, to which had probably been added by this time, through force by the foreign landowners, no small amount of the allodial land adjacent to their estates.

As land fell vacant he granted it to *tenants in capite* ; these are stated in the Domesday book to have been about 1,900 in number ; these granted sub-feus to *mesne* lords, about 8,000 in number ; the total number of soldiers these estates were bound to support being over 60,000 in all. Every tenant was compelled to support in the field for a certain length of time his quota of men armed according to the king's law and custom. But he enforced five acts, which almost abolished the independence of his tenants, which made it impossible for them to otherwise than acknowledge his supremacy. (1) He did not grant one huge united estate to any one greater baron, but split up his grants throughout the country, hence a greater noble planning resistance was unable to act with his whole

force, and often he might find his lesser tenants and the ceorls of varying sympathies. (2) He made the lesser tenants swear allegiance to him as well as to their immediate superior, he could call upon them directly to assist him, if they did not they committed treason. (3) He retained, in accordance with his coronation oath, the county and hundred courts, causing the barons even to be included as members of the shire-court; from this authority, as well as from the baronial court, power of appeal lay to the king's court. The baronial court sprang up almost alongside the hundred court, being the centre of authority for the population in any district other than the allodial freeholders and those depending upon them. (4) He retained the king's court in its full power. Henry II. in 1176 established itinerant judges with six circuits, so that justice could be brought closer home to all. (5) He retained the National Council, at which the archbishops, bishops, and chief abbots attended by virtue of their position as landowners. The nobility who held of the king by *Grand Serjeantry*, being, in fact, the king's deputy on their own estates, had criminal and civil jurisdiction in their own baronial courts, the mesne or lesser lords having only civil power; these latter could attend by right their superiors' baronial court, as did the greater barons the Great Council of the Realm, the court of their superior. The greater barons attended by right, the lesser only on summons, particularly when taxes were to be imposed; whether a tenant-in-chief attended or not he was bound by laws the Council passed; the French noble was not obliged to recognise any law passed without his consent.

It will thus be seen how the Conqueror consolidated the nation still more, exercising powers of co-ordination over all classes; but to assert autocracy over the baronage he had to allow not a little freedom of action to the populace at large. The inevitable result occurred to his successors; abuse of the

power of the kingly office caused the baronage to unite although divided by distance, and hampered at being individualists of the worst type by nature. The very power which enabled the kings to support through aids and taxation large mercenary armies with which to overawe their tenants was in part their ruin, for these very forces alienated from them the support of the proletariat by their unscrupulous action. The very fact of one legislative centre affecting all tenants, whether greater or lesser, rendered the ultimate result of coalition a certainty; the legislative independence of the French nobles prevented a community of feeling and mutuality in action.

The climax came under John, when the whole nation, including the serfs, virtually revolted as an organised whole and forced from the crown the Magna Charta; this contained clauses affecting even the villains *adscripti glebae*, showing that the nobility had even to study them. This concerted action marks the genesis of the English nation, for by this time chattel-slaves were too few in number to be the foundation of the nation itself.

Three points are requisite before a feudal nation, as distinct from a feudalised state, can commence its development. The people must possess a common speech before they can arrive to a mutual understanding, they must have common wrongs and mutual distresses before they can be aroused to common action, they must possess means of showing functional vitality in action as well.

The Saxons and Normans were so closely allied in descent that the common speech soon developed; to the mercenary and the feudal lord, or to a corrupt court or taxgatherer, all the proletariat was as one for purposes of gain. The vitality of the people was such that in 1181 the *posse comitatus*, or the militia recruited in the hundreds, was again called in existence. These were armed by the new weapon (to them), of the long-bow for the greater part, a means of offence that came

before long to be feared by mail-clad chivalry more than they feared each other. But the very mental effect of the knowledge of this power, that the undefended archer or footman could hold in his hand at last the life of the armour-clad horseman, must have had incalculable effect in developing a true manhood spirit.

The tyrannous forest laws, which claimed all *ferae naturae* for the crown, with a few unimportant exceptions, helped especially to form a bond of union amongst the nobility and all classes ; united action resulted in their repeal. But princes' words were alway fickle, and Edward I. especially refused point blank to abide either by the Great Charter or by that of the forests, also asserting the right to tax without leave of the Great Council, in his time more than ever a partially representative body. United action again resulted in the defeat of autocracy, for by this time the burghers and the squirearchy had entered the ranks of the enfranchised through the results of Simon de Montfort's wars. The growth of Parliament is coincident with the growth of the town, and is referred to in the next chapter, but it will also be seen that the Wars of the Roses, by destroying the vitality of feudalism *before* the towns were able to evolve to a full knowledge of their strength, almost allowed of autocracy again being established by Henry VIII. The landowners, impoverished by the sale and mortgage of their lands to support their special side, with their ranks thinned, were unable to withstand this king ; the spirit of the townsman was too individualist to allow of his opposing the crown by combination ; fortunately the lower middle classes were awakening then and soon gave backbone to the opposition to the throne.

To go back to the social changes wrought to the orders of the people by the Conquest. Domesday book, compiled between 1080 and 1086 A.D., returns a total of 283,342 persons in the position of heads of families ; this would represent

about one and a half millions of people. But we know that the King's writ did not run in England in the three northern counties and in parts of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Monmouthshire. Several of the large towns, many abbeys and castles are omitted, and many others are imperfectly described; generally also the monks and the middle classes, and others not directly connected with the land, were not counted. The omissions, both in the parts of England surveyed, and in the parts that could not be enumerated, must amount to about half a million more, making a total population of about two millions.

Of the adults returned about 25,000 are *villeins-in-gross*, or the chattel-slave population. Next come the *villeins regardant*, or serfs bound to the land; up to 1795 it was a punishable offence for a labourer to leave his parish to seek for work. These serfs consisted of two classes—the *villeins* and the *cottars*, or *bordars*; the former were the descendants of the Saxon landed ceorls, also known formerly as "geburs," and possessed their virgate, or thirty acres of land, and house and messuage, in some domain. To their lord they rendered service-rent in earlier times and money-rent later on; with him there was joint tenure of the land, they could will it to whom they liked, but the heir or successor had to pay a fine or relief to the lord of the manor before they entered upon the benefit of this property. These number in Domesday book 108,407.

The *cottars* only possessed five to ten acres of land and a cottage; they were the *cotsetlas* of the Saxons and the descendants of the conquered British who originally lived in serf-villages attached to those of the conquerors; this class had naturally been recruited from both the slave class below and the ceorl above. They numbered over 82,000. Out of the total enumerated of over 283,000, we find that about 215,000, or three-fourths, were semi-servile or slaves.

Excepting in the Danish counties, there were few land workers beyond these classes, but we find enumerated 23,000 Socmen and 12,000 Freemen, the latter being probably free allodialists working their communal folc-land, and the former the descendants of those formerly possessing individual free-hold; these Socmen were only liable to fixed rentals and the public services of the *trinoda necessitas*. There were also enumerated about 33,000 other freemen. As time went on the independent land workers became fewer and fewer, owing to the seizure of their lands by the noble able to do so, or owing to voluntary (so-called) granting of it to some lord in return for his protection. There was a feudal nobility and squirearchy, of nearly 10,000; the unenumerated 500,000 must have been composed of churchmen, the traders, armed retainers, personal servants, and the country and the town populations there were not surveyed.

As a result of the Conquest most of the Saxon nobility sank to be thanes or squires, only being allowed to retain a moiety of their land; most of the thanes would sink to form the Socman class, the form of holding intermediate between that of the ordinary landed ceorl and the Saxon thane. Possibly in Saxon times, and until the Norman rule was definitely established, the Socman was a small individualist freeholder, as distinct from the communal freeholder of the folc-land. Many of the allodialists would become landless men. If these facts are borne in mind the cohesion of these disinherited of the conquered race is readily understood, as also the spirit of mutuality displayed by the orders below the nobility when the former asserted their rights under Simon de Montfort.

The social condition of the people, excepting where relieved by the action of the Church, was that of barbarism; war bred famine, famine begot ill-health to the survivors, and these were swept away in crowds by the first epidemic presenting itself.

Famines could be expected every few years ; whole populations used to die off, and even if there had been the spirit to relieve a distressed district, there were no roads nor transport of the requisite character. The rural villages at the best were self-supporting, nothing more ; the commerce of the towns could only obtain a sufficiency of food for themselves. Many diseases now epidemic were then endemic, with periodic outbreaks ; the worst example was the Black Death in 1348, whereby one-third of the population was swept away. The scarcity of labour induced one of the first general wage strikes we know of—reference will be made to it in the next chapter.* In all this time of feudal brutality on the one side, and the barbarism of serfdom on the other, there was only one centre of light—the Church. The message of the primitive church went direct to the hearts of the slave-class of Rome, and their tolerant Gothic conquerors readily adopted its theory, the gain in practice being their acknowledgment of the authority of the Christian clergy, the only class representing the arts, sciences, literature, or even humanity, in the countries they conquered in Western Europe. When the Saxons destroyed Christianity in Britain it remained in Ireland, and from thence Western Europe was almost re-civilised again, the Scots' schools being founded even as far away as Southern Germany, being comparatively frequent in France and the Rhineland States. The history of how the Church became a caste of the vested interests, preaching doctrines to suit the rich and to bolster up the idea of temporal power, of how it formed sects within itself, and of how it degenerated when protected by laws which made it parasitic in growth, does not affect directly the history of feudalism ; that it afforded refuge to the criminal and the poor, that it was the only source of help to the proletariat in times of want and class oppression, that it brought land and through that more power for good to itself from superstitious

* See pages 180, 181.

and moribund laymen, that it gave an organised expression to the evils of slavery and sensuality, that it gave rise to the genesis of internationalism in language and action in the Crusades, all goes to show that even under imperfect forms of organisation a minority of men who are good and earnest can rise beyond dogma* and doctrine in human service and love.

Much as there was to blame in Mediæval Christianity, it contained within itself the highest elements for human progress. In other countries there were special developments of feudalism. The independent legislative and administrative units of Germany were strong enough to prevent the development of a true Empire, for the Emperor never had a vital proletariat to assist him against the nobility as in England ; a strong emperor would have developed into a despot, with power to convulse Europe to an extent worse than it was even then.

The Moorish invasion of Spain, by strengthening the social bond between the ruling Gothic caste and the ruled, allowed of the retention of the village community for a much longer time than in France ; but feudalism triumphed finally after the Moor was forced back to his African home.

In Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as in Lowland Scotland, there was really only the ruling caste and an unrepresented proletariat in the middle ages as regards the National Council, much as in Edward I.'s time in Saxon England ; power was usually held, *either* by the Crown *or* by the nobles, according as to which was the strongest upon the so-called National Council.

Up to nearly the end of the twelfth century the social form in Ireland was a loose tribal confederation founded on village communism and serfdom below that, the national feudal form

* The first principles common to all Christian Churches are not referred to here, but the doctrinal disputation of schoolmen.

had been destroyed by the Danish invasion. After a time English feudalism was introduced into part of the land, but the tribal organisation lingered for long in many parts; an equivalent state of affairs occurred for some time in Wales after its conquest in 1283, but the English laws and king's officers were soon supreme.

The Caledonian Highlanders for many centuries retained the clan formation, kindred clans acknowledging usually one tribal chief; public spirit was never really quenched, owing to the *camaraderie* of the blood bond.

In the period of the thirteenth century we perceive our first *national* crisis; the autocracy of the crown is first limited by the greater barons, supported by the rest of the nation, then the new ruling aggregate is limited in power by the upper middle classes, with the remainder of the nation behind them. Feudal oppression and social misery caused such disharmony in existence that the will was born for action, action was shown by the demand for manhood functions and right, organised human evolution was the result.

CHAPTER VII. COMMERCIAL BRITAIN.

The town the outcome of Commerce, localities and reasons of early towns.

The effect of Roman rule on their growth—trade necessitates peace even in a warlike age. Survival of some Roman towns in Britain—reason of some surviving the Saxon conquest. Growth of the town from the village—the town a concentrated and specialised district. The homestead—shire-court—public officers—the formation of various urban classes. The Church and the growth of towns—the Church organisation—Church towns. The recognition of towns by charters. The analogous growth of human aggregations to physiological growth in tissues, organs, and bodies. The growth and socialisation of various aggregations in the town. The Staple Towns—their guilds and rulers. The town and the State in the thirteenth century—Parliament—decay of the rural freemen—the rebellions of the lesser land occupiers. Henry VIII.'s autocracy—growth of commercialism—the renaissance—decay of feudalism and the Crown. The middle-class rule under William III.—the eighteenth century revolution in industry—the French Revolution—the misery of the English people after the wars—child slavery and commerce—Reform Act and Free Trade agitation. The new States in 1868 and 1884.

Still the tides of fight are booming,
And the barren blood is spilt;
Still the banners are uplooming,
And the hands are on the hilt;
But the old world waxes wiser;
From behind the bolted visor
It descires at last the horror
And the guilt.

Yet the eyes are dim, nor wholly
Open to the golden gleam,
And the brute surrenders slowly
To the godhead and the dream;
From his cage of bar and girder,
Still at moments mad with murder,
Leaps the tiger, and his demon
Rules supreme.

One more war with fire and famine
Gathers—I can hear its cries;
And the years of Might and Mammon
Perish in a world's demise.
When the strength of man is shattered,
And the powers of earth are scattered,
From beneath the ghastly ruin,
Peace shall rise!

—Archibald Lampman.

THE growth of the Commercial era is coincident with the growth of the town; the town itself is both cause and effect of the desire for commerce; it is causal inasmuch as a congested population cannot support itself beyond a certain

limit on husbandry alone, it is effectual in the need of a common meeting place for the interchange of whatever is demanded by an advancing society, and to fulfil the need of a fixed residence for a trading class. In the compound clan state of society, that of Lower Barbarism, each village is almost self-supporting, and periodic meetings at certain centres, where clan feuds are dropped or pursued at the peril of punishment by all the others present, are usually sufficient for the little commerce that is felt to be requisite ; of these ancient meeting places our present fairs are the lineal offspring.

But, on the principle that in each stage of society we find the next higher social aggregate present in its incipiency at least, that each living aggregate contains in embryonic potentiality the elements of higher form, we find in the tribal state of Higher Barbarism that the periodic uninhabited meeting place has developed into the fixed residential market town ; in early society such localities always being either on the shore of the sea or on the banks of some river, for at that time the only means of communication and transport to any great extent were by waterway or shipping, with the exception of the camel-traversed deserts of the East. The demand for commerce springs in the tribal state from the luxuries and higher standard of living demanded by the dominant slaver-caste, the rulers of which now possess a slave-class proletariat. Under the protection of great tribal chiefs a trading town would spring up, being fostered as a convenient and easy source of taxation ; if this class however, became too oppressive, the traders themselves would attempt to, and often succeed, in establishing an oligarchy at the expense of the timocracy of the ruling monarch.

From such beginnings would spring the great commercial centres of antiquity, as the cities of Accad, of Egypt, of Syria, and of Asia Minor ; in later times, owing to necessity rather than to choice, the neighbouring peoples resorted to commercial

Rome, Corinth, Carthage, and Alexandria. The colonies of Greece and Phœnicia in the Mediterranean and beyond it were offshoots of the parent cities, transplanted, as it were, almost in full growth, at apparently suitable sites, in positions however probably indicated as advantageous by some small local inter-tribal mart. It is almost certain that before the establishment of the Roman rule in Western Europe there existed no towns that had advanced beyond this latter state, that there were then no centres of population where the majority depended on trade. The Roman Emperors, needing peaceable populations and wealthy citizens as producers and as tax-payers so as to afford them their luxurious lives, and to meet the expenses of their legions, fostered trade to every possible extent. Their empire-making roads allowed of inter-communication and transport from Gades to Dacia, from Chester to Assyria ; in all the seas, excepting the German ocean, no organised piracy could exist. Inter-tribal wars and clan feuds within the empire were ruthlessly crushed out, cities were encouraged and coloniæ established wherever they seemed advantageous or requisite for trade. Merchants could safely pass from land to land ; with the advent of the Roman rule of Britain we know that Jew, Phœnician, and Greek, came to our land to exploit our tin-mines and other sources of wealth. Conscripts and slaves were stationed or sold into many foreign lands, the Latin tongue formed a *lingua franca* between all these various peoples. But all the wealth of Roman capitalism, being built up on chattel-slavery with an autocratic ruling-caste, the Roman Senators being in no wise representative even of Rome, from whence they attempted to legislate and administrate for the world, was doomed to decay, for the greater its power the greater the servility, the more wealth it produced the greater the parasitism of the dominant classes. Human life was as little sacred to ancient capitalism as it is to many employers of the modern wage-slave, the supply of slaves was

dependent upon war or purchase. Some of the factories of Rome and its colonies employed many hundreds of hands ; it was, however, to the advantage of the master to take indeed much care of his slaves if the supply fell short of the demand. Modern factories owners need not consider this aspect of employment, the demand in competitive civilisation must always fall short of the supply. In the majority of instances it paid the ancient factory owners not to overwork or under-feed their men, and it did not occur to them to employ female or child labour, for such work depreciated, they knew too well, the value of the next generation of slave-workers. In the present times it pays to possess a large population with only a sufficient reserve of strength to withstand a few years of high pressure labour ; after becoming unfit for their special work such a class tends to reduce the rate of wages.

Of the Roman cities founded in Britain certain survived, stranded almost as isolated communities during the chaos succeeding the invasions of the Saxons and the Scots, exercising authority over but little more than their town-lands ; Gildas mentions twenty-eight as existing in the sixth century. When we consider that such towns would often possess the advantages of natural situation, of fortifications, of engines of wars, and often the advice or even leadership of veteran conscripts or legionaries who had settled there, it is not surprising that some places could withstand the earlier barbarian forces of the invaders ; more especially as far-seeing leaders, if a considerable amount of booty had already been acquired from less favoured localities, would foresee the advantage of offering honourable terms to a town that could not only prove a source of revenue, but a base for operations or a place of retreat in their own inter-tribal wars.

But for many centuries to come there was no commerce as we understand the terms. No towns were so great but that the surrounding country was sufficient to supply them with food, no

manufactures of any importance were followed ; they were rather centres of exchange than centres of production. Mr. Hallam considers that the population of London in the 14th century even did not exceed 35,000, being less at the time of the Conquest, at which time even York would not possess over 10,000 inhabitants. Throughout the whole of Western Europe we find the town beginning to show itself a vital factor in society in the tenth century, feudalism then concluding that it paid it better to develop the wealth and resources of dependent cities than to harry them, just as the serfs on antagonistic domains profited by their serfdom to the extent that it paid the combatants to leave them their lives, for the real conflict was in reality for the possession of surplus-value makers, without them the estates were worthless. Much on the same principle was free trade established in this century, the majority of the slaver-caste concluding that a fairly fed class of wage-slaves were worth more to themselves than a working population with an inferior store of labour energy to be spent in work.

In some such way as follows we may trace development of the municipality from the original barbarian village ; we will see that the town holds in social aggregation an analogous position to the shire or tribal area, certain circumstances leading up to a congested population in the one case, a scattered one in the other.

The oldest settlements would be those of the compound family, the land utilised being held in common, worked in common, its products divided and enjoyed in common.

The compound clan hamlet of Lower Barbarism consisted of such families living side by side, often each with their own enclosed area, within a common fortification, the land around usually being annually distributed by lot, at first with customary usages as above for each family, the family (compound variety) being the unit for allotment. As the blood-bond becomes looser and individualism gains ground the fact of

residence and not relationship begins to be the foundation of the village community ; from this point we can trace the ultimate trend to the town or to the village forming a unit within a tribal area, *i.e.*, to the smaller *hundred*. In the early tribal village, giving it this name to differentiate it from the clan hamlet, the right to houseland, and its invariable contingencies of arable land and out-bye pasturage or woodland, rests upon the ownership of a tenement, and for a long time there is no absolute freehold in the possession of a house, only fixity of tenure exists whilst observing the customary laws of the village, for it can only be parted with by consent of the other householders as well. In the early stages of this society we find the communal holding of land, annual redivision of the arable land, with the right to so much pasturage as contingent on the amount of that land. Depending upon now whether the causes that result in a town or not spring up, we find the village remaining as such and following its own evolution, or growing into a town. In the former case the tendency to individualism proceeds, the house becomes absolute freehold, but still with its arable land and pasturage ; annual redistribution ultimately ceases, but the common tenure and enjoyment of the out-bye lands last longest. The next stage results in the dissolution of all relationship between house-land, arable land, and out-bye land, and absolute freehold in each ; the commons, and duchy wastes, and other waste moorland lands, are the survivals of this old allodial or folcland of Saxon times, (the cottar hamlets of the conquered were of course existent as well). As individualism progressed and a man obtained possession of more property than his own family could till, a landless class of men with cottages within the village would arise ; these would be chattel-slaves in the first instance, the landless ceorls in the next place, and the wage-labourers of later rural England. Just as the clan village contained compound families each with their own enclosure, so did the later tribal villages contain often individual homestead units.

Hallam, speaking of Germany after the Gothic invasion, says as follows: "A house with its stables and farm buildings, surrounded by a hedge or enclosure, was called a court, or, as we find in our law books, a curtilage,—the toft, or homestead, of a more genuine English dialect. One of these, with the adjacent domain of arable fields and woods, had the name of a villa, or manse. Several manses composed a march, and several marches formed a pagus, or district. From these elements in the progress of population arose villages and towns." The German manse was the Saxon homestead, the march was the village, and the pagus the hundred. As feudalism grew the villages would widen in area, for resistance to organised feudalism by fortifications was not to be thought of. As the cottages of the landless men sprang up between the homesteads, so an unenfranchised and technically free population arose, with no rights except to their home, we would at once in the village obtain two classes, the allodial freeholders, who afterwards became the superior villeins, and the labourers, the former being enfranchised in the hundred and county court, each hundred deputing to the latter five elected representatives. In this shire court the thanes sit by virtue of property of superior extent and wealth, presided over first by the alderman, latterly by the sheriff, the King's officer. In most villages a superior class of villagers would spring up from various causes, from this class the office-holders would almost invariably be chosen. In larger villages artisans would form a class of freeholders as well; outside of the villages in later times would lie the tenements of the Socmen or yeomen possessing their own land, but not sufficient to attain to a thaneship; the presence of these was requisite for the formation of both hundred and county court.

A village that evolved into a town would start from the two classes of landed enfranchised men, and landless cottars. As gradually through the settlement of a trading and craftsmen class, the character of the incipient town altered from

an aggregate of houses depending upon husbandry to one existing through trading by exchange, by retail, or by hand-craft manufactures, the importance of the surrounding lands would lapse as common property. Instead of the allodial farmer, enfranchised by his houseland, and his labourers, we find the master-craftsman and petty trader enfranchised through their tenements, with their dependent population of journeymen, porters, and labourers ; although not a few of the former group would remain to till the surrounding lands for local sale. Out of these burghers a superior class would soon arise, as the town grew, to develop into the aldermen, who would then hold an analogous position in the town-council to the thanes in shire-court. So close was the analogy that Alfred the Great conferred the title of thane on any merchant who had crossed the sea thrice in his own vessel in the pursuit of trade. As the population begins to get unwieldy in size newer aggregates of men crystallise out, as it were, into more suitable forms for mutual offence and defence, the craft-guilds of masters and men joined as one body begin to develop, and are analogous to the village unit, where there existed a superior class of free-holders of geburs or villeins and an inferior of cotsetlas or cottars, each craft representing, as it were, one such village. The traders, as distinct from the artisans, also joined together into their special brotherhood associations ; such survive now as the livery companies and guilds of London and elsewhere. Where local interests demanded a special unit of organisation the ward sprang up, taking an analogous position to the hundred ; one special reason was sometimes that of race, the descendants of different tribes or nations being massed together. The aldermen, chosen originally by the vote of the burghers, form the ruling clique ; wherever strong enough elected a mayor as the municipal chief, otherwise they had to submit to the town-reeve appointed as their head either by the king or their feudal lord. The burghers unattached to any

guild would somewhat represent the country yeomen. Just as the freeholders present, or entitled to be present, at the shire-court represented the shire as a corporate aggregate, so did the burghers and aldermen represent the town as a territorial corporation, with the same relationship to the king's court and national council, the latter being distinctly a negative capacity.

Alongside of the aggregations represented by the feudal fee and the town there was also gradually developing out of the chaos of barbarian Europe a third organisation which threatened at one time to become absolutely supreme in the Western world, that was to a great extent both antagonistic to the Crown and to the feudal nobility—the Christian Church is referred to. Much as Christianity departed from the teaching of the primitive Church after it was adopted by Constantine as the State Church, thereby becoming the fashionable religion; much as it developed into Churchianity, with doctrines derived from the commandments of men who were striving to portraiture a Christ who had not condemned wealth and the power of riches, at the same time that they preached the gospel of peace and goodwill, the message of a Christ who had taught the law of universal love as well as of obedience to authority duly instituted; it must yet be recognised that for many centuries the only refuge and place of safety, the only organisation seeking amelioration for the serf, the only class with enlightened sympathies, lay in the Christian Church with those whose humanity rose higher than the official forms of their Church.* In it lay the only real party of reform, of men aggregated for progressence, not for private individual advancement, but for the sake of an ideal preached for the love of a Teacher than whom no man ever proved to be greater in love or compassion. In its attitude of freeing the slave; of enforcing the dignity of marriage and of chastity, so

* See page 154.

demanding some natural rights for womenkind ; of sheltering and feeding the poor, the wanderer, and the persecuted ; of enforcing peace upon certain days of the week between the baronage ; of sheltering the criminal until he could gain fair trial ; of giving life-work in loving service for the good of the human race, the Christian Church for many centuries was in fact semi-socialistic in character, in attitude, and in aim. The lust of power in civil life, or rather, the mistake that spiritual life can be shaped by command instead of by inclination and effort, led to the ruling clique in that body establishing a despotism as grave as that of the Crown or of feudalism in its worst aspect, with the inevitable sequence of revolt ; since the Church then, equally with certain Protestant bodies now, contained no re-acting laity, it died out in countries where there existed the requisite will, by the natural decay of parasitism. Its strength lay at the period referred to in its attitude of commiseration and demands of justice for the poor, a policy kept to in later times to gain popular support against the Crown ; its lesser priesthood, being drawn from the ranks of the laity, knew the peasantry and were trusted by them then as much as are the Catholic priesthood of Ireland now by the labourers and peasantry of that land, of which land their order have ever proved themselves inalienable sons of the soil.

This Christian Church, organised from Rome as a centre, attempted to model itself on the form of the Roman Empire, with corresponding conditions and ideas ; we, except we recognise the then spirit of the age, of submission and obedience being granted only to *visible* authority, do the Roman Church a great injustice if we imagine it could have organised on any other lines. The Pope represented the Emperor ; his legates, now Cardinals, were analogous to Kings, usually taking precedence of them ; the bishops and Archbishops became nobles, *primi inter pares*, by virtue of office first, and afterwards as feu-holders ; the lesser clergy were known in England as the

mass Thanes ; the inferior order of clerks, the ostiaries, readers, exorcists, acolyths, sub-deacons, and deacons, would correspond to the enfranchised laity, the communal or individual freeholders. The origin of the parish is uncertain, but when we remember that our country was Christianised by missionary enterprise, first from Rome, and after the results of these teachers were swept away by missions from Ireland to a great extent, it is probable that the parochial district would represent as large an area as a missionary could work from the hamlet where he settled. Such a district would often correspond with one of the Saxon hundreds, such areas being usually determined, as are the district councils now, by natural features : adjacent districts would form an ecclesiastical shire as a bishop's *rika* or authority, a bishoprick.

But the analogy went still further. Alongside the regular clergy with their rural organisation there developed the secular clerics of the monasteries, these aggregations being decidedly analogous to the towns. As the latter were the centres of handicrafts and exchange of material products, so were the former the only centres for what we may call brain-crafts and the exchange of scholarship and learning ; for some centuries they were the sole repositories of arts, sciences, or schoolcraft. Their domestic economy, in its responsibility merely to the Pope and not to the bishop of their diocese, again resembled the irresponsibility of the town to the shire-court and its council ; and as in the town, so in the rise of monarchism we find the spirit of progressence present. It is noteworthy, too, that the first definite monastic order, that of the Benedictines, arose in the fifth century immediately after the chaos of the downfall of Rome. A further analogy still exists. The brotherhoods of the preaching Friars developed, somewhat equivalent to the city guilds, with their international ramifications ; and stranger still, the military orders of clerical knights grew up with the object of preserving or of enforcing

Christianity in heathen or Mohammedan lands, just as the cities later on evolved trading companies to open up distant lands to commerce and trade.

Under the protection of the monasteries, and within the sheltering area of individual churches, there sprang up church-towns, content in return for their protection to render them feudal dues, just as castle-towns grew up under the shelter of some noble abode, the certainty of feudal taxation being preferred to the probability of armed robbery and extortion.

The real history of the town as a vital national aggregate commences with the time when the newer cities, as distinct from those that survived from the Roman Empire, obtained the privilege to build regular fortifications; this period commenced with the ninth century in Lombardy and Friesland, and somewhat later in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. Where we read of charters granted, as to Magdeburg in A.D. 940, "To build and fortify their cities and to exercise municipal law therein," we may take it that very often this was merely the confirmation under statute-law of rights formerly exercised by custom, or in defiance of some feudal chief. Almost all towns appear to have been at one time fiefs to some king or feudal lord; and the number recorded as acknowledging some bishop or church dignitary as their lawful superior about that period, the time of the formation of more settled government, would show that the protecting influence afforded by the Church had allowed of special growth and social development. Many towns, as soon as they were wealthy enough, purchased for an annual fee the rights of their feudal chief, in which case the fief vested in the municipality, thereby enormously strengthening in such cases the powers of the alderman class; after this, as towns, they were only liable to special taxation for national purposes.

At this period, about the commencement of the eleventh

century, almost the sole idea in the generality of towns appears to have been that of individual advancement through their own special power alone, it remained for the idea of mutual alliance yet to be evolved and acted upon : up to this time in England, owing to the disturbing racial and other influences of the Conquest, the growth of mutual co-operation between cities was impeded for some generations to come. The initial stage was that of the formation of concrete aggregates and grades within the town itself, intra-organisation had to precede inter-organisation, completion of internal structural growth had to precede inter-organic functional activity.

Human aggregations appear to formulate themselves on lines strictly analogous to physiological growth.* To take a simple group of human units first : different groups of human beings have precisely the same evolutionary history as has the premier simple aggregate. As a human being awakes from the mental apathy and mechanical existence engendered by the slave-blood, physical or moral, he re-establishes lost relationships with other men, and the ruling passion is that of personal aggrandisement if he meets with unhealthy moral re-action, or it is pure selfishness at the best. Such is the condition of all races suddenly freed from slavery ; their surroundings are devoid of healthy re-action, their minds are mechanical and unaccustomed to take any initiative ; in this state they remain for two or three generations. This is essentially a puerile state of existence ; what gratifies or pleases the senses is best. The corresponding physiological states are those of the development of any single protoplasmic cell in the very earliest embryonic states of the ectoblast, mesoblast, and endoblast, when the whole life history of any cell consists in personal development and reproduction ; such sums up the life history of the mental or moral slave. If the re-actions or actions of outside influences be imperfect, the tissues afterwards

* Chapter XII., Table IV.

developing from such a cell may become cancerous in course of time, subjecting the whole organism to their aggrandisement. The early stages of the development of a tissue to an organ, or of an organ to a body or organism, are equivalent. The next condition in the development of a human group is that it slowly dawns upon individuals, as the experience of wider action and re-action takes place, that greater average security, and consequently happiness, is to be gained by mutual alliance and co-ordinated action in obtaining whatever is judged requisite for personal use, that for the average man it is advantageous to forego some possible advantage for probable gain, the chance of much wealth for the certainty of some. This is the stage of political mutuality, of socialisation of power; the object is strongly individualistic, the means socialistic.* This is the adolescent stage; if such a group and a puerile aggregate live together this one naturally, on account of its moral slave-blood, takes the lead and enslaves the other. The recognition of this idea causes the formation of all vested interests, and of all organised opposition to them; it is responsible for the dominant and ruling slaver-castes and all their sub-divisions, it is responsible for all opposition shown to them by the slave-caste, the most recent and marked example in our immediate past history being that of Trade-Unionism. Physiologically it corresponds to the period in embryonic development when adjacent cells stamped with the same original impress arrange themselves into tissue formation with mutual relationship to each other, and to the developing vascular inter-cellular channels through which their relationships with the outer world are established. When tissues in an organ, or organs in a body, enter into similar relationships through the circulatory channels they reach to their equivalent state. It is constantly said the child is a born Socialist; this view just stated of the puerile stage may appear to militate

* Chapter XII., Table XIV.

against it. If child meant infant in the first few months of its existence, such would not be true, for the mere infant is merely in an animal state of life, in a material or physical sense indeed open to take everything and give nothing ; if other proof of a human possessing a distinctive cosmical essence were required, I would say that it is to be found in the shining forth of an other-worldliness in an infant's love and features when not marred through heredity by sin or passion, or by the disharmonical effects of man-made oppression. But the child, physically, morally, and mentally healthy, believes in mutual association, in mutual assistance, and in mutual enjoyment.

The next stage of a healthily developing aggregate is when the idea dawns that mutuality can be extended, from social agreement as to how the necessities and luxuries of life can be individually gained with the greatest certainty, to mutual agreement as to the utilisation of such wealth, to socialisation in use and enjoyment. This idea needs not only a virile mind, but a humane one too ; but if the re-actions opposed to a virile class are imperfect and unhealthy, as they must be if less educated or weaker classes exist, we find socialisation for use only applied, and that unequally, to the ruling virile class itself, and not benefiting the others below it. This was the case with the feudal organisation, it is the case with all the vested interests composing modern capitalism ; while they seek economical freedom for themselves they deny it to all those they can exclude from their "society."

The healthy stage of this state of development, with the object of mutual use and enjoyment of wealth through economical freedom, corresponds to the time in embryonic growth when relationships are established through a functionally active nervous system which allows of different cells in any one tissue mutually co-ordinating for their functional purpose and for their fuller life-work. When different tissues in an organ in similar manner co-ordinate, and organs act likewise in a body, we have

then complete socialisation established. Growth to maturity has yet to take place, just as a socialised nation will be only really commencing its existence, trending to some termination as different to its then state as the adult is to the infant, when it takes on the fully social form of true democracy.

The town, being an aggregate of various human aggregates, developed on lines corresponding to those above, and this did not take place until chattel-slavery was so far advanced towards its termination that this special class of workers were of little account as a means of retardation to society. After the incomplete socialisation of the various groups within the town, as referred to just recently, we find that the dominant class of the burghers, especially the aldermen, recognise the importance of advancing the principle of mutuality. For many centuries each town fought against feudalism or the Crown, as the case might be, for its individual advantage, apart from other cities ; this stage lasted in England until the middle of the fourteenth century. The policy of the Crown for some time had now been to encourage foreign merchants, the chief of whom were the traders of the German Steel-Yard, to settle in Britain, special privileges being granted them. This organisation was formed originally in the towns of the Hanseatic League, this power (for these trading cities were stronger in their combination than many a dukedom) was evidence of these towns having entered upon the second stage of growth. These staple-towns, so called from the staple trade of wools and hides being the principal source of wealth, were established by 27 Edward III., c. 24, and were : Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, Bristol, Caermarthen, Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Drogheda. It will be noted that most of these places are important centres of trade even now, and that they were then all upon the sea-shore, upon waterways, or close thereto. The attitude of government in those days to commerce was merely that it was

worth encouraging as a convenient source of revenue. The passing of this Act marks the commencement of the establishment of mutual relationships between certain towns; the object was in every case individual gain. But this mutuality was brought about by extraneous forces, not by the towns themselves; it had not yet occurred to English towns to apply between themselves the same principle as within themselves, that of mutual amalgamation of their several aggregates. Some time before this the guilds of Berwick had enacted "that where many bodies are found side by side in one place they may become one, and have one will, and in the dealings of one with another have a strong and hearty love."

During the thirteenth century the individualistic power and the material wealth of the towns had grown to such an extent that almost all the larger ones had purchased "the farm of the borough," or the right to collective ownership of the town lands; "for the most part the liberties of our towns were bought in this way, by sheer hard bargaining" (*Green*). The way he refers to as follows: "The lord of the town, whether he were king, baron, or abbot, was commonly thriftless or poor, and the capture of a noble, or the campaign of a sovereign, or the building of some new minster by a prior, brought as appeal to the thrifty burghers, who were ready to fill again their master's treasury at the price of the strip of parchment which gave them freedom of trade, of justice, and of government." It was just the definiteness of the recently introduced written or King's law that allowed of this social advance. However much statutory law may have been perverted by quibbling and distorted by vested-interest bias, there can be no doubt that the establishment of statute-book law, as distinct from customary traditional enactments, was an enormous advance, and an indispensable aid to human evolution in an age when might was right, and a promise to anyone outside

your own blood, or guild, or caste, was valueless and of no account. The increasing power of commerce was shown in 1284 by the Statute of Merchants, by which they could register their debts, and recover by distraint on the debtor's goods and by the imprisonment of his person.

During the early part of this century there had been division and struggle within the towns themselves, between the "greater folk," or the oligarchy of the wealthier burghers, who were chiefly the descendants of the original landed men, and the "lesser folk," or the artisans of the craft-guilds, who were unenfranchised in the municipal council. Specialisation of labour had now been evolving within the older merchant guilds for many generations, the latter acting more and more as trading companies alone, the craftsmen, owing to the very small capital then requisite for independent labour, becoming the manufacturers themselves. The custom of bringing material that was required to be manufactured to an artisan for him to manipulate was then in vogue, hence he needed no capital to purchase material; the result was a state of comparative independence, granted the need of his labour, for but few journeymen could not in time become master-craftsmen. As these citizens had to contribute to the standing expenses of the towns, chiefest of which were the upkeep of the fortifications, and the annual contribution to the town's stated tribute or rent to the Crown or its superior, as also to any special aid, they naturally demanded some share in the government of their town when they reached in growth to the *genus adolescens*, and became somewhat equal in mentality to the dominant clique. To obtain some protection the "lesser folk" joined together in secret "frith-guilds" or peace-clubs, and in England the Kings accepted these organisations as the natural aggregates following after the break-up of the blood-bond. The bond of society in the town became a community of form of labour, just as in the country the bond was formed

by the joint occupation of village lands when the older clan organisation broke up. But on the Continent matters went worse with the proletariat of the towns ; they shared the same fate as their brethren in the country, and were reduced to all but serfdom, the Crown there not needing, or rather, despising their support against an individualistic instead of a combined nobility as in England. Here we find as bitter a feeling and as bloody suppressions of armed risings of the "commune," as they were called, against the "prudhommes" or ruling burghers, as ever was the case between a feudal caste and the insurgent serfs. Nose-slitting, scourging, and banishment, did not prevent these early communes from ultimately triumphing, any more than will penal laws, the boycott, and a reptile press, prevent the establishment of a national commune either in Germany or elsewhere.

The result of this vital activity in the towns decided the success of Simon de Montfort's struggle against the autocracy of his king ; the peasantry and town levies that met to support him at Lewes in 1264 were neither Norman nor Saxon, but a combined proletariat. That the patriot leader was ultimately killed in battle, faithful to his task to the last, did not mean that his conceptions and deeds were futile ; like many another reformer he suffered death for his daring, but the forces of human progress justified his ideas in that those who conquered him legitimised his acts, and that human evolution has created sequences to his principles of immortal renown.

The very one radical reform of all, the summoning of two knights elected in the county court, and of two burghers from every town that the writ was issued to, had to be enforced before long under penalty by his conqueror, Edward I. ; this king finding their attendance absolutely necessary for successful government. Formerly the cities had not been recognised at all as worthy of representation in the National Council,

and, although these two represented at first only the town oligarchy, the success of the "lesser folk" of the communes soon altered this. Formerly also knights had been chosen from the shires by the Crown when they attended the shire-court ; they were now elected by vote of that court, and since the majority therein now were yeomen or allodialists, they were forced in their actions to specially represent them as well as their own order.

Simon de Montfort's parliament of 1265 was not reproduced fully until 1295 ; its duties were then to grant supplies, and assist in legislation and government ; at this period also Parliament became the ultimate court of appeal when Triers of Petitions sat in the great hall of the Palace of Westminster. In this parliament of 1295 all orders except the landless men in the country and the labourers in the towns were represented ; and to it also were summoned representatives from the Church as well. Fortunately for human evolution the Church, jealous of its demand for supreme power and privileges, isolated itself ; it refused to vote supplies except in its own assemblies and concocations, and claimed the right of legislating for itself, and that its members were not subject to civil law. Without the presence of a special order from the Church there was a natural division within parliament, for at this time all members sat together : on the one side there was the greater nobility, now terribly diminished by war and forfeiture of estates ; on the other side were the newly-enfranchised knights and burghers. But State affairs were such that all were opposed to autocracy on the part of the Crown, that the greater barons as landowners could not do without the support of the squirearchy, and the latter could not do without the help of the traders. If a fresh order had now been introduced, anxious only for its own personal aggrandisement, taking whatever sides best suited it, the cohesion and co-ordination of the enfranchised classes would have been ruinously impaired.

Towards the end of this thirteenth century was passed the Statute of Winchester (in 1285), whereby a change was gradually brought about which most disastrously affected the smaller rural freeholders, and resulted before three centuries in the practical annihilation of the smaller yeomen and the remaining allo-dialists. By this statute the Sheriffs' Court ultimately lost its old power, for to the knights of the shire, or rather, to certain of them now, fell the duty of enforcing its enactments. At first they were known as Conservators, afterwards, as Justices of the Peace. As parliament gained power and statutes were passed favourable to land grabbing, such laws were read by the justices in the light that best suited their own order; the bourgeoisie, thinking such injustice no affair of theirs, awoke in the sixteenth century to find themselves struggling almost alone against the Crown, feudalism having almost destroyed itself during the Wars of the Roses. This very struggle, though, had allowed of the towns making ever-increasing demands for independence, and they then perfected themselves in the stage of individual freedom. This same oppressive rule of the Crown made them now, through the Commons, join together to obtain political freedom and greater privileges; an attempt to obtain this had first been made in 1450 by the Commons of Kent in their famous Complaint under Cade. Of this Mr. Green says: "With the exception of a demand for the repeal of the Statute of Labourers, the programme of the Commons was not now social, but political."

To understand this agitation we must go back to the previous century, to the period of universal unrest and disquietude subsequent on the adoption of one language by the servile classes; to the time of the absolute Anglicising of the dominant castes; to the time of a general oppression felt by the proletariat as one, all question of racial traits in its incidence being for ever finished, class dominance being recognised as the true cause; to the time of special extortion and taxation requisite

to sustain the continental wars ; to the time of the development of new ideas and learning, at first in the universities, these being chiefly consequent on the admission of Eastern scholarship to the Western world through the Crusades ; and lastly, through this new learning, and as the result of its effects, to a period of greatly increased mental activity, chiefly spread everywhere throughout the land by the socially militant orders of the Friars, themselves sprung usually from the people of the country and town. Two natural processes had been at work as well in the population at large beyond this general advance of the middle class of those days into the *genus virile*, and of the serfs into the *genus adolescens*. The greater nobility had been terribly weakened through the wars and other causes ; the lower classes had greatly increased in number. The estates of the former were divided into domain land for the support of his castle and household, and into feus sublet to others ; the home farm was attended to by his tenants and cottars, who gave labour-energy according to customary incidence instead of rent. As the towns grew and there was the more demand for produce and wool, many of the former of the class of ceorls or villeins, as well as the yeomen socmen, commuted their labour-rent for money-rent. The tendency of the Church policy favoured the freedom of the serf from his position of *adscripti glebae*, before long it totally freed the chattel-slave. And further, escape to a town and residence there for a year and a day conferred freedom, and the needs of the fighting nobility often also compelled them to sell a serf his right of freedom. But either labour-rent or produce-rent probably remained for long the means of payment by the smaller copyholders. This is what the majority of the rural classes, other than the allodialists, now became, having a fixity of tenure as long as they paid their rent and performed any other duty due. But in this way the feeling of dependency caused by personal service and military obligation to the land-owning class was lost, tenancy was no longer resting on mili-

tarism but was a commercial compact, an individuality formerly unknown now arose.

The customary law of gravel-kind, whereby all allodial land became divided amongst all sons, as did absolute freehold and any land free from military service, together with an increasing population, soon caused competition for land, and naturally when a baron or lord held several feus he let off the domain land of several. By this means again a class of land-users others than serfs arose : the total domain land was about one-fourth of the whole land other than allodial.*

All the causes favouring a solidarity of spirit and breeding discontent, added to this growing feeling of independence, led up to the out-break of the Peasants' War in 1381 ; this was no mad outburst, but the cumulating effect of two or three generations of agitation and a determination to effect freedom. Matters had been brought to a crisis before, or rather, hastened to one, by the ravages of the Black Death in 1348 ; this terrible epidemic, starting amongst the lowly-vitalised and underfed peasantry and lesser folk of the Continent, found suitable material to work upon in England as well. " Of the three or four millions who then formed the population of England, more than one-half were swept away in its repeated visitations " (*Green*). In many districts industry ceased, and authority was almost in abeyance. For the first time the landless man and the cottar found his labour courted, for crops wait for no man, and cattle and sheep must be looked to or lost. Most naturally the labourer took advantage to demand what seemed to his employers to be most extortionate wages, and many a landless man became a copyholder to fill the vacancies in a manorial roll, for no labour applied to the land meant no revenue.

This state of affairs was so inimical to the Nation (of the vested-interests) that laws were at once passed which fixed wages and made their infraction a misdemeanour ; by statute the

* Of the whole cultivated land.

labouring classes were again *adscripti glebae*, and fixed to his parish by law the labourer remained until 1795. An organised attempt was made to establish absolute serfdom again, and the lawyer stewards of the manor found in their servility and dishonesty many an informality in manumissions and exemptions. The only Court of Appeal open to the man thus *legally* re-enslaved was the manorial court, his judge being this aforesaid lawyer. In the towns the same oppression was applied to the lower craftsmen. A blaze of revolt spread in 1381 throughout the eastern, home, and southern counties; the insurgents, under Tyler, marched into London and obtained from the king letters of freedom and a general amnesty. Tyler was killed during a conference by opponents who only extended the laws of chivalrous safe-conduct to their own class, and the nobility and vested-interests, loyal only when it suited them, refused to sanction the general pardon. The insurrection was quenched in blood, as must always be the case whilst a section of the proletariat are so ignorant and debased as to butcher their brethren at a slaver-caste's command. So strong was the older communal feeling, evidenced to these peasant insurgents by village communities which must then have been scattered throughout the land—for Gomme mentions several recent survivals—that the object of the revolt was the establishment of almost self-supporting socialistic communes. Green, commenting on "Piers the Ploughman," says concerning the spirit of the age: "The gospel of equality is backed by the gospel of labour." But the general standard of the mentality of labour fitted it only for localised socialism, the national organisation or socialised political effort of the slaver-caste conquered—as the national must always do when opposed to municipal or district organisation alone.

The squirearchy and traders, as also the Church when occasion suited, had always gladly accepted the help of the villeins and craftsmen against the Crown or greater nobles;

the knights, the bourgeoisie, and the regular clergy, all united against the proletariat demanding freedom as they themselves had done. The labourers and smaller townsmen were crushed for many a generation to come.

In 1450 Kent again arose in arms, but now "yeomen and tradesmen formed the bulk of the insurgents," their "Complaint" called "for administrative and economical reforms, for a change of ministry, a more careful expenditure of the royal revenue, and, as we have seen, for the restoration of freedom of election, which had been broken in upon by the interference both of the Crown and the great landowners" (*Green*). The petition was granted, as had been that of the Peasants seventy years before, also general pardon; as usual, with noble promises where profit is concerned, the "complaint" was laid aside, and Cade, the insurgent leader, killed by an outraged aristocracy.

The Wars of the Roses destroyed feudalism, landlordism remained in its place; the squirearchy, which had gained much in wealth whilst the nobles became impoverished, drifted apart from the traders and joined as landlords with the baronage. By themselves the traders were helpless: the Church was suffering from parasitic atrophy, succumbing also to the Protestant spirit of the middle classes, of whom the Lollards were the spokesmen and the agitators. Enclosure of allodial land had proceeded now for some time under laws passed by a landlord parliament, and such land had been chiefly devoted to pasturage owing to the continental demand for wool, and also because lesser labour was required for stock-keeping than for tillage. Serfdom being legalised again in the form of attachment to the land, the owner could throw his villeins and cottars out of employ and means of sustenance by utilising their land likewise. The Statute of Liveries disenfranchised the lesser craftsmen, and the merchants and master traders again formed municipal oligarchies. The Commons existed

only in name owing to the "disenfranchising statute" of 1430, whereby all copyholders, leaseholders, and all but a few of the allodialists left, were deprived of their vote; and the Crown under Edward IV. was freed from the need of even appealing to it for supplies owing to the wealth poured into the royal treasury through confiscations of the estates of the conquered side. Armies were disbanded; the soldiery who could find no employment, and landless men without work, for this and the other causes just named, roved through the country in armed bands; the only amelioration to their condition was afforded by the Church through relief from the monasteries. In Edward IV.'s time the Crown towered supreme above this individualistic anarchism, and reached its highest point in the reign of Henry VIII. To such a terrible pitch of destitution had the people now come through being deprived of means of livelihood, it being a crime then as now to steal when hungry through being denied the right to labour, that in the reign of this august Defender of the Faith there were hanged or beheaded over 71,400 persons; in one year alone 300 were sacrificed thus to justice for the sinful crime of having asked for alms.

In Henry VIII.'s reign, freedom as we know it was extinct. "Personal liberty is almost extinguished by a formidable spy-system and by the constant practice of arbitrary imprisonment. Justice is degraded by the prodigal use of bills of attainder, by the wide extension of the judicial power of the Royal Council, by the servility of judges, by the coercion of juries" (*Green*). It virtually came to this, that a man might commit an act, might even only give expression to a matter of sentiment or opinion quite within the existing law, and the Star-Chamber could pass an Ordnance after the fact declaring such action illegal. So far has clerical animus biassed English respectability and its writers that the one fact of this monarch denying the supremacy of Rome, a deed done out of personal

pique (the confiscation of the monasteries being due to personal cupidity and self-seeking), that all his tyranny and blood-guiltiness has been decently cloaked over ; for the Established Church in condemning him, its supreme head, would have denied the infallibility of its bishops, his inferiors in rank. For this one act they have belauded this mighty agglomeration of vanity, wickedness, and selfishness, who after he had thrown off the allegiance of Rome sent men and women to the stake without pity or remorse because they differed in opinion from his own immaculate self : they condemn a weak-minded woman acting as she thought right, who, although Queen, had no real friends to advise her, or intellectual power to support her. In actual blood-guiltiness and fiendish callousness Henry was actively wicked, Mary a mere passive instrument.

It was commerce in the widest meaning of the word that prevented the autocracy of the Tudors leading up to either permanent tyranny, or rather, prolonged tyranny, or to absolute anarchic revolution. Partly acting as a cause, partly as an effect of inevitable human progressiveness in perceptivity and sensibility, commerce had scattered during this period its mariners and explorers into unknown regions, into the Indian seas by the Cape, to the West Indies, to South America, to Labrador, and to the West African swamplands. New regions in science, in philosophy, in speculation, were all investigated ; Grecian lore and Roman wisdom " crossed the Alps," and even the hitherto servile middle classes as regards their attitude to the Crown began to question the divine right of kings and mediæval theology founded on " the corruptions of schoolmen." As commerce grew wealthier so did Henry VIII. and his children foster it as a source of revenue ; the more it prospered the more did the spirit of insurgency, ever spreading through the art of printing, arise in the middle classes. Not that there was anything socialistic in their attitude, they did not desire political freedom so that all might enjoy it together with equality

of opportunity, they wanted it for purely individualistic ends as much as do their present successors in the Whig and Liberal organisations of to-day.*

The general chaos during Henry VIII.'s reign was added to by the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of Church property, an act which was acceptable both to the generality of the trading classes, and to the pockets of the king himself. At the same time such policy was most disastrous to the vagrants and mendicants, their only real source of relief was destroyed. Their position became so bad that in 1562 legislation enacted that overseers of the poor should provide two lists of paupers in their districts, one of indigent and disabled poor, one of criminous mendicants and ne'er-do-wells. Each class was to be treated differently and on its merits ; such a division in this century has been quite beyond the conception of our Guardians of the Poor-rates. In 1601 there was passed "the well-known Act which matured and finally established this system" of pauper administration and lasted until this century.

These reforms, and growing productivity in manufactures, the abolition of foreigners in our over-sea transport trade, and a higher cultivation of land, absorbed a certain amount of the surplus labour, and by the beginning of the 17th century England was beginning somewhat to emerge from out of her former anarchaic condition. At the same time the memory of former miseries and cruelties inflicted on their class, and the example of divine right rule in the shape of religious martyrdom, had entered like iron into the soul of the thinking proletariat, and, when the moment arrived to decide whether they should support rule by an irresponsible monarchical clique, or by the middle orders with whom they had something in common, they were not long in deciding. Parliament gained its ends in 1640

* Liberalism cannot object to this statement, as officially it is opposed to economic freedom, the owning of the sources of wealth and their utilisation for use, not profit.

and its enactments were sanctioned by Charles I., although two years before his servile lawyers had declared "Acts of Parliament to take away the king's royal power in defence of his kingdom are void, they are void Acts of Parliament to bind the king not to command the subjects, their persons, and goods, and I say their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference." Charles I. considered his kingly promise void, that it had been gained under virtual duress, an argument the unenfranchised people might now well plead against all past anti-social legislation. The king broke his promises, and his subjects, to the incredulous amazement of all foreigners, broke up the idea of divine right by proving that kings possessed necks. During this struggle a people's party had formed distinct from the yeomanry and traders, with Socialistic ideas inherited from the time of the Peasants' War ; to crush this national element Cromwell, acting for the middle classes, in 1653 made the right to a vote to be property, real or personal, of the value of two hundred pounds.

The great political result of the Revolution was that whilst absolute monarchism, despite feeble attempts at regeneration down to George III.'s time, together with militarism, was for ever annihilated, the upper middle classes gained political freedom at last, sharing it with the squirearchy.* Absolute middle-class rule began in William III.'s time, although the lower middle classes were still unenfranchised ; as yet they were not strong enough as a class to economically exploit labour, they had as yet to share this "right" with the rent-receivers.

From the beginning of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century a steady revolution in industry went on : organised handicrafts where a master and journeyman worked together, others finding the material (capital), began to be replaced by

* Since this was written the Boer war has occurred, the international financiers have exploited well-marked grievances of certain classes in the Transvaal, Militarism has raised its head again, in a yellow press, refusal for investigations, and the threat of conscription.

factory labour, where the worker has no object beyond earning wages alone ; house industries began to disappear ; the yeomen were steadily replaced by middlemen farmers ; and the labourers were steadily deprived of common and waste lands. Division in labour progressed, industries became more and more specialised, new markets abroad became opened up. On the whole the condition of labour was decidedly better 150 years ago than for some time before, from the time of the 14th century. The tendency was for production to become socialised, exchange and enjoyment of wealth was subject to the caprice and will of the surplus-value taker.

But during this century the spread of philosophy amongst the French middle classes, and the extreme misery of the workers, had led up to the immortal French Revolution, at first conducted with justice and with impartiality compared with the treatment the slave class had received from their masters. This movement was analogous in France to the English Revolution of the 17th century, the termination to it was different. In England, as just stated, the working classes after supporting the middle-orders, made an attempt to obtain political power. Cromwell crushed this movement almost without bloodshed, there were too many of the workers then in the *genus puerile*, and too few in the *genus virile*, to render this fresh insurgency of great gravity.

On the other hand, the four or five generations that had elapsed since then in France had so far improved the intellectuality of especially the Parisian workers, that they successfully for a time revolted against the seizure of all power by the newly enfranchised bourgeoisie when they found events trending in that direction.* The bloodshed that resulted was merely a fraction of the amount that had been exacted from

* The bloodshed of the Reign of Terror was evidence of the disappointed hopes of the working classes when they found they had merely changed masters, feudalism for commercialism.

the proletariat in past years, and their actions were those of men infuriated to madness at finding themselves betrayed by those who had risen to power and freedom by their aid and help.*

The slaver castes of other nations, afraid of the example afforded to their democracies, found excuses to declare war against this new France in the hopes of crushing it ; the newly found vitality of the French masses, instead of being directed to industry, found vent to its enthusiasm in war, and a Corsican adventurer, unhampered by the scruples of a gentleman, arose to power on the national upheaval as tyrant and Dictator under the guise of Imperator. England was embroiled in these wars until 1815, and certainly prevented a total stasis in political freedom. Her reward was the foundations of a world-wide Empire, which, once a Social-Democracy rules at home, will lead up to extreme progress towards that consummation of government and organisation abroad.

But the immediate result to the English working-classes was terrible : they had preserved political freedom, or a nearer chance of it than possessed by their brethren abroad, at the postponement of all social and economical reform at home ; but, in so doing, they allowed of these others coming into line with them, and of international understanding and support before long. At the end of the 18th century, with the excessive development of machinery, workers became slaves to machines and mechanical attendants instead of skilled handicraftsmen ; worst of all, since women and children could attend machines these were brought into competition with their fathers and husbands, for, under the law of competition, the family subsistence wage of the father had to be earned by himself and his family now. No wonder that the bourgeoisie began to wax fat, for the same or less wage than before they now obtained the labour-products, and that at the increased rate of machine-labour, of the father and all his family.

* See pages 141, 142.

Against this iniquity of iniquities, the employment of babes from three years old and upwards for profit, a thing never known of in the old chattel-slave ages, the Christian Churches of the land did not protest ; they were either too ignorant—a fact which did not militate against their claim to lead the workers, nor never has—or they were too busy in preaching a Gospel of personal salvation to the rich, who could not do wrong, such as was never preached in Galilee or Judæa.

In Christian England child-jobbers ranged the country securing children as so-called apprentices from five years and upwards ; they purchased children and sold them again to factory lords. Said one witness before a Royal Commission : “The cotton was sometimes red with blood,” *i.e.*, of children of five and six years old. “Almost every child was more or less injured” by machinery. “At twenty-one the majority of those who are alive are either maimed or half-witted, and afraid to leave the mill.” An Act in 1802 lessened work hours for children to only seventy-two hours a week ; less than half of that is as much as the fully-developed frames of the aristocratical staffs of Government offices can stand in these days. The record of Lord Shaftesbury’s fight for the children was one constant attempt by the Liberal Government to frustrate his efforts for their emancipation ; the Liberal Secretary of State in 1842 prevented the sale of the official report on the employment of children in mines and collieries, and tried altogether to hold it back. From four years old and upwards they worked in the mines often from twelve to fourteen hours at a stretch. The Bishops of the Establishment as usual voted almost invariably to support a fellow vested interest, that of capitalism ; they supported the worshippers of the God Mammon, not those who worshipped the Divinity that exists in every child.

The lower middle classes had felt the hardships of the wartime only a little less than the workers ; they supported the

enfranchised commercialists of the wealthier grades who now were working for complete economical freedom, these latter understanding this to mean the power to administer the wealth of the whole land for their beneficence alone. Owing to the system of rotten boroughs and the virtual disenfranchisement of the industrial centres through disproportional representation, the landed interests had remained practically supreme in Parliament. The middle classes, as a whole, became enfranchised by the Reform Act in 1832, and after several years of agitation they succeeded in abolishing the Trade Union of the landlords, for the House of Lords owing to their supremacy in Parliament was in reality such an organisation ; it was a combination to keep up rent, the other name for wage earned by no labour. Since then the whole energy of Britain has been exploited by them, the middle classes, to the tremendous extent shown in the ninth chapter.*

The support of the workers again afforded the middle class victory in 1832 ; they formulated their demands in the six points of Chartists, all of which aimed at political freedom alone. The commercialists and capitalists, afraid of the growing intellectuality of the slave-class, unable now to pit them one against the other in mortal fight except in Ireland, drew the red herring of the Corn League across their path, with the enticing cry of cheap bread. They are now beginning to awake to the fact that cheap bread is useless except there be work wherewith it can be earned, and that they owe as little to capitalists as to the landowners, as the former have repaid themselves a hundredfold for their exertions fifty years ago. If it had not been for the tremendous impetus to industry granted by the development of railroads in the middle of this century, by the constant discoveries of gold, and by the demands for raw material, goods, and manufactures, which made England up to a few years ago the workshop of the

* See page 225.

world, the condition of certain classes of our proletariat would not have reaped much, if any benefit, from the final success of the middle-class revolution.

The workers entered on the second stage towards liberty, that of political freedom, when the Trade Unions organised as a national whole for political action; this gained the enfranchisement of the aristocracy of labour in 1868, but for long their action was thoroughly individualistic to the core, and the claims of workers outside their organisation were ignored.

Increasing education, imperfect as it has been, and the higher social life of the average worker, his increased intellectuality, the cheapness of reading materials, the widespread intercommunication possible through the press, the postal system, and the railroads, leading up to not only an ever-growing solidarity of feeling at home between the wage-slave class, but also between all advanced proletariats internationally, caused the last impulse towards political and economical freedom that started in England in the early eighties. The further enfranchisement in 1884 was the commencement of political freedom for the ordinary worker. Manhood suffrage cannot be far distant now; when that is gained sex-slavery will be abolished by the vote being conferred upon women as well; then we are ready to use our power to order that the industry of Britain shall be with the object of all workers being benefited alike, and that there shall be no toleration for idlers when fit or capable for labour.

Production is now highly socialised in every class of industry, exchange is a matter of mutual arrangement, the transport services could be socialised at any time, the land is as ready as ever to burst out afresh with its wealth if only sufficient labour and mentality were applied to it; we only wait now for Industry to will that its vitality shall manifest itself in the functions necessary for Organisation to form the State of Social-Democracy.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOME ACTUALITIES OF POSSESSIONALISM.

Political economy is deductive, social economy inductive—therefore scientific.

The comparison and analogies of mediæval medicine and political economy, of social economy and modern medicine. Orthodox opinion and Socialism. Social diseases—their scientific treatment. Population of British Isles—short analysis—table of Occupation. Table of Unsocialistic Britain—population—acreage—wealth. Income per class of persons—average class incomes. Population by occupation—total persons in each class. Criticism on some special annual incomes. Table showing ratio of monopoly of political power and income—franchise and power of representation. Indirect parliamentary pay of the classes—trade-union income—poor-law taxation and charity—amounts spent on unremunerative pleasure. Population supported chiefly by the State—social wreckage. Some victims of the competitive struggle—description—the result of the study of social economy.

It is the great error of reformers and philanthropists in our time, to nibble at the consequences of unjust power, instead of redressing the injustice itself.

—John Stuart Mill.

How long shall they reproach us where crowd on crowd they dwell,
Poor ghosts of the wicked city, the gold-crushed hungry hell?

Through squalid life they laboured, in sordid grief they died,
Those sons of a mighty mother, those props of England's pride.

They are gone : there is none can undo it, nor save our souls from the curse ;
But many a million cometh, and shall they be better or worse ?

It is we must answer and hasten, and open wide the door,
For the rich man's hurrying terror, and the slow-foot hope of the poor.

—William Morris.

MODERN science is founded upon phenomena and facts admitted to be true by the generality of those qualified to judge who have studied them ; mediæval science, under the corruptions of the schoolmen, just as Christianity under the imaginings of the theologians, had to bring every fact and phenomenon to square with preconceived reasons and causes. Political economy, of the Adam Smith school and the vested interest economists, is founded upon a state of knowledge equivalent to the mediæval ; and economics, that is, the every-

day domestic facts and relationships of national life and the laws learnt therefrom, must be made to further the idea that no state of society is possible except that of animalistic competition, of persistent struggling and juggling to obtain profit, *i.e.*, some of the products of others' labour without any expenditure, or but little, of labour-force by those acquiring such wealth. Just as the pioneers of modern science had to meet the cries of—"It is against religion," "it is contrary to the Bible," "it will destroy the State," "these men are mad," or "they are self-seekers," so do these automorphic economists, or the huckster hireling editors, cry out against social economy :* "It is irreligious," "it is unorthodox," "it will destroy society," "its supporters are puerile, insane, silly, blatant, interested agitators." We have disestablished the stake of priestcraft and the block of courts of justice where men differ in sentiment and opinion from the majority; but supporters of churches and chapels are not above discharging Socialist employés for acting as they think best for their class, with often slow starvation in front for themselves and their families, and hereditary Emperors in Germany imprison subjects for making remarks which some people might think to be disrespectful. (For the above reason the veteran Liebknecht was sentenced to imprisonment.)

Social economy is founded upon the facts and phenomena of every-day social life, without any presupposition that society will never be able to exist without the vital divisions of dominant and servile, rich and poor, employer and employed, the won't-works of the surplus-value takers and the no-works of the surplus-value makers.

* There are many people who believe that editors apply for a post, obtain it, and are allowed to write as they think fit and best. Newspapers are owned as capitalistic property, and editors must defend the capitalist *regime*, or go. The Press is thus the advocate for the defence of present society, bound to state the defendants' case against advancing Socialism; it is not an impartial witness.

Modern science, and one of its latest branches, social science, is inductive; mediaeval science, and political science, founded on the idea that political classes, that is, aggregates with various degrees of political power in the state, were eternally requisite for social life, is deductive. Social economy views society as one organisable whole; political economy views it as if composed of organised aggregates, incapable of further relationships than those of loose cohesion and support.

Of all the vast advances made in knowledge during this century the development of the science of medicine in its widest sense is one of the most marked. Until the time of Harvey the deductive method of investigation held good, functions were imagined as appertaining to certain organs and tissues, these latter had in their phenomena to fit into these explanations. And, until this century was well advanced, treatment was founded on symptoms, and natural evolution of morbid processes towards recovery was hindered rather than hastened. The inductive method demanded that every phenomenon, every tissue, every organ, every protoplasmic unit, should be first studied as widely as possible, that their functions and inter-relationships should be determined first in health and then in disease. Then, when morbid processes occurred, there was reasonable chance of proving a cause instead of having to imagine one for the disease; then came into existence the maxim: *Find a cause for the disease, then, if possible, remove the cause.* Also, *a symptom does not constitute a disease, a cause lies behind it.*

In social science Socialists study the human unit and human aggregates in every possible circumstance of healthy, wholesome life, and in all possible states of illth and social disease; the study of sociality amongst other sentient beings also being of great advantage. For a man to educe or afford evidence in support of Socialism does not necessitate his being a Socialist; the facts he states may be absolutely true, the

conclusions he forms may be either insufficient, or wrong from automorphic class bias, or because he starts his case determined to prove that Socialism is wrong. To the first of these classes belong Messrs. Herbert Spencer, Giffen, and Levi; to the latter of them the ordinary possessionalist party politician, for his excessive pecuniary wealth would be impossible under Socialism. The gentlemen mentioned have cast off the theological bias, they have been unable to throw away the spirit of individualism for profit and to imagine others capable of sociality with any other motive power. The learning, application, and industry of such men is beyond all question; but, because they have never lived the life of the ordinary worker, they must be automorphic as to his sensations, judgment, and capacity.

One reference further as to the science of medicine. It is only since the medical profession adopted the principle of sociality as the foundation of their inter-relationship that this tremendous advance from symptomatic to causal treatment has been adopted, the will for this functional characteristic had to precede the present organisation of medical science. The foundation principles are those of mutual assistance in the treatment of disease; mutual study as to whatever constitutes or causes disease, also as to existence in health; the right of every discovery to be public property, private property being abolished in medical knowledge; and the recognition of an international *camaraderie* based upon a common service to humanity. Competition, and all the evil influences arising from it, prevents these principles being acted upon to the full; the proof that it is competition that is the fault lies in the fact that in no profession amongst the juniors, and in none amongst the seniors where this element is absent, is there so great a feeling of sociality present.

Social economists, or Socialists, claim to be the physicians of a diseased society; their investigations point to competition

for profit, or for mere existence, being the cause of national illth. They believe in the competitive spirit being a necessary factor in human society, but assert that competition for profit is entirely an abnormal and diseased manifestation of what otherwise would be a healthy relationship between unit and unit, group and group. The huckster and hireling minor economists* write and speak as if this symptom of a diseased mentality were its only possible and sole form. But competition for profit or for wage is in itself a symptom; a cause is found for it in class monopoly over the means of providing the necessities of life, and this again depends on the ability and desire to shirk a due share of labour, or to altogether live idle and for pleasure alone. Therefore, acting on the principle—remove the cause of national illth, we say that the rational treatment is to remove through political power, the will of the majority being hereby manifested, the ability of any group of persons or class to live without labour at other people's expenditure of vital force. The ideas and theories of the Physicist school of last century were naturally incomplete from immaturity and inexperience; they were founded rather upon symptomatic than causal treatment. At the same time they marked the commencement of a new era, for they started their system with the study of natural phenomena instead of viewing society through preconceived class-biassed requirements and relationships; so terrible had been the effects of this deductive reasoning that they could not at first imagine a more blessed state of sociality than to be severely let alone in their struggle for existence. Knowledge had not become sufficiently socialised to show to them that in the human kingdom there existed laws or relationships beyond those of the kingdoms below.

* If a man, knowing that a second school of thought exists, refuses to investigate it before supporting in writing its opponent which is sure to buy his wares for its defence, he can only be called a hireling.

The very foundation of medical science is that of anatomy, of the study, grossly or microscopically, of every portion of the human frame in health and disease. Physiology and pathology relate respectively to the functions of these parts in health and disease. Analogous relationships as exist between unit and unit, exist between group and group, as far as present knowledge allows us to see. The foundations of social science will then lie in analysing human society in health and disease, both as units and as aggregates. To understand our own nation or country somewhat we must, as it were, dissect it in health and disease, and study its functional manifestations.

The population of the British Isles in the year 1901 was 41,605,178, without counting soldiers, seamen, etc., abroad; at the previous Census it was 38,104,975 in all, constituted as follows.* For the sake of comparison the figures for 1841 are given as well as those of the last Census.

TABLE I.

	1841.	1901.
England and Wales	15,914,148	32,526,075
Scotland	2,620,184	4,471,957
Ireland	8,175,124	4,456,546
	<hr/>	<hr/>
UNITED KINGDOM	26,709,456	41,454,578
Isle of Man	47,975	54,758
Channel Isles	76,065	95,841
Services' men and Merchant seamen abroad	202,954	(?) 400,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	27,036,450	42,005,178

In each division of the British Isles and the above-named islands females out-number males by 1,441,868, but if the soldiers, seamen, and marines abroad are taken into account the difference is found to be about 1,040,000. The male birth-rate is only slightly in excess over the female, the excessive

* Certain tables and results to be now stated cannot be compiled from the 1901 census, all its returns being not yet completed.

disproportion in after life being due to the greater dangers incurred in masculine occupations, and, on the whole, the greater anxiety whilst at work.

The excess of emigration over immigration is estimated at 70,003 at this Census, a marked change from the 601,388 of the previous decade. Within the inter-censal period four agricultural Welsh counties had decreased in population, and so had Oxford, Herefordshire, Westmoreland, and Rutlandshire, in England. All these counties also depend almost totally on agriculture; except for the war, Cornwall would probably have decreased as formerly. In Cornwall the mining industry is crushed by royalties, and the fruit and fishing industries by the preferential railroad rates granted to foreigners.

In England and Wales the numbers living in urban to rural districts are as 77 to 23 in 1901. At that time the following division of the population could also be made:—

London (administrative county)	4,536,063
Urban Districts, except London	20,518,205
	<hr/>
Total urban population	25,054,268
	<hr/>
Total rural population	7,471,807
	<hr/>
Total—England and Wales	32,526,075

Greater London, or Registration London and the outer ring, numbered in total 6,580,616, an increase in the ten years of 16.8 per cent.

The total population in rural districts had not decreased, but the rate of increase had only been 2.90 per cent., compared with 15.2 in the urban districts; many rural districts had become urban since 1891.

Ireland had suffered a decrease of 5.3 per cent., as against an increase of 12.01 in England, of 13.3 in Wales, of 11.1 in Scotland, of a decrease of 1.5 in the Isle of Man, and an

increase of 9.1 in the Channel Isles. Ireland's total decrease of population in the intercensal period has been 248,204. It is interesting to note that the Channel Isles, with their freer land system and unhampered transport to English markets, had increased at the same time in population, although the acreage available per head is twice as great in Ireland as in these islands.

Of the total population of the United Kingdom the following percentages resided in each division in 1841 and in 1891:—

	1841.	1891.
England and Wales	59.5	78.4
Scotland	9.8	10.8
Ireland	30.7	10.8

There were found in 1891 to be 233,008 foreigners, an increase of 33.6 per cent. during the decennium. Of these 95,053 were found in London, after deducting those who were British subjects; the proportion of women to men was about 2 to 3. As regards the occupations of this population we find as follows in 1891:—

TABLE II.—POPULATION GROUPED BY OCCUPATION.

(From "Fabian Tract" No. 5, page 4.)

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial	6,641,637	2,383,521	9,025,158
Agricultural	2,349,652	173,176	2,522,828
Commercial	1,616,065	47,795	1,663,860
Domestic	188,365	2,170,260	2,358,625
Professional	812,242	439,452	1,251,694
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	11,607,961	5,214,204	16,822,165
Unoccupied, under 20...	6,163,219	6,795,984	12,959,203
Unoccupied, over 20 ...	543,038	7,407,509	7,950,547
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18,314,218	19,417,697	37,731,915

(Compiled from Reports of the 1891 Census for England and Wales, C—7,058; Scotland, C—7,134; and Ireland, C—6,780).

If we make allowances for an increment of population up to thirty-nine millions in 1896 and make a closer inspection

of these figures we will find in round numbers as in the tables following. It is useful for rough data to consider that for every two persons below fifteen that there are four above that age, of whom one will be between fifteen and twenty-two. Of the four above fifteen two will be a married couple, and will have the two children, one of either sex, dependent upon them. Of the two left over fifteen one will be of either sex, and both unmarried. Five persons go to the family group, of these two are usually "workers," in wide sense of the term, or qualifying to become such; those employed in domestic labour not for hire, as wife, daughter, sister, mother, are counted as unoccupied in Table No. II. In those following they are counted as workers.

It is also necessary to revise the above table and to relegate from the professional class those therein who really are manual workers in labour, or who are receiving as reward for labour either wages or pay equivalent thereto. Reference to the "Census of England and Wales, 1891, Vol. IV." will show that whole classes must almost be relegated in this manner, as "Army and Navy," "Police," and "Marines." Again, in "Medical Profession," "Scholastic," "Performers and Showmen," for example, a large proportion are, for everyday purposes, considered to be working-class people, their pay being on that scale.

In round figures, we may say that we find as follows in the succeeding tables:—

TABLE III.—UNSOCIALISTIC BRITAIN IN 1896.

Population	39,000,000
Acreage	77,000,000
Currency (including notes)	£130,000,000
Less than £3½ a head.	
National Debt	£660,000,000
or £17 a head.	
National Income	£1,450,000,000
or £37 a head.	

National Wealth	$\text{£}12,000,000,000$
	or $\text{£}300$ a head.
The national wealth owned by the lower-middle and working classes is	$\text{£}180,000,000$
The amount "saved" by the well-to-do yearly is...	$\text{£}200,000,000$

In the years 1861 to 1884 there were nine good years and fifteen bad years, with but little improvement in ratio of good to bad since. Yet we find that since 1891 to 1896, the national wealth has increased (for the idler class almost entirely) by from $\text{£}11,000,000,000$ to $\text{£}12,000,000,000$. In 1865 the amount was estimated at $\text{£}6,114,000,000$. And yearly this ever-increasing principal has to struggle against an ever-increasing dead weight of interest, rent, and profit, this being the surplus-value tax that industry has to pay idleness for being allowed to labour to produce wealth, without which labour the idle could not exist.

TABLE IV.—INCOME PER CLASS.*

	Million £'s.
Unearned, or Idler income	510
Earned Incomes :	
Middle class—Taxed	280
Middle class—Untaxed	130
Manual labour	530
	<hr/>
	$\text{£}1,450$

Of the unearned income $\text{£}40,000,000$ go to the middle classes. Part of it is also legitimately used for purposes of pension, but until the State allows of the manual worker being pensioned we must consider this portion unfairly acquired. Much of the so-called earned middle-class income of those classes taxed to income-tax is most easily earned through sinecure posts, family influence, or so-called ability, the result of the opportunity of special schooling alone. Part of it is really surplus-value income. We can well put down the amount of the total of such income to be $\text{£}700,000,000$, or nearly half of the grand total.

* These figures relate to 1891.

Under Social-Democracy we estimate that the average family income of £180 at present could easily be doubled.*

TABLE V.—SOME AVERAGE INCOMES.

The old income-tax limit of £150 is here adhered to.

Class.	A family per annum.
Member of the House of Lords	£35,000
Country gentleman	£1,500
Taxed middle class	£350
Untaxed middle class	£140
Organised labour	£80
Unorganised labour	£40
Pauper	£8

Unemployed—these receive charity, and the advice of men like a former Mayor of Liverpool, who said in an after-dinner speech : “As for the unemployed, let them go to the devil.”

To obtain these figures following the alterations referred to as necessary to Table II. have been made with these results. Also, for the purposes of these tables, the totals of the classes—agricultural, commercial, and industrial—are added together, the middle-class are then extracted and called “Commercial,” the rest are entered as manual labour. Domestic means those employed in “domestic offices or servants” of the Census, plus 7,000,000 employed exclusively in household work other than for hire.

TABLE VI.—POPULATION BY OCCUPATION.

Professional (middle-class)	750,000
Commercials (middle-class)	1,780,000
Manual workers	11,850,000
Domestic workers	9,500,000
Idlers—	
Rich	1,100,000
Unemployed	500,000
Paupers, over 65	320,000
Children, under 15	25,800,000
Total	39,000,000

* See page 253, clause 4.

The rich are those living on interest or rent, together with children of idler parentage over fifteen, plus a certain percentage of women whose household labour is practically nil, their husbands being well-to-do middle-class workers. The half-million unemployed is their number at the best of times only, and they constitute a permanent fringe of compulsory idleness. In the last Census the possessionalist officials responsible for it baulked an exact enquiry into pauperdom by causing paupers under sixty together with all "out of employes" to be returned as at their former occupations; those paupers outside of the rate-supported institutions were grimly returned as "retired from business."

TABLE VII.—CLASSES IN FAMILY NUMBERS.

Professionals (middle-class)	1,600,000
Commercials (middle-class)	4,700,000
Manual workers	25,000,000
Domestic servants	2,700,000
Idlers—	
Rich	1,500,000
Unemployed	1,500,000
Paupers	1,000,000

	39,000,000

In this table children under fifteen are re-absorbed into their fathers' class, wives and daughters over fifteen, except those of well-to-do middle-class men, are also likewise re-absorbed. The professional class is apparently increased by too little, but the explanation is that of the 750,000 no less than one-third are "students over fifteen." In like manner the domestic class looks too small, but in it now are only the domestic servants for hire, plus the children of the male domestics. The class of manual workers at first sight also looks small, but a certain proportion of its adolescents are found in lower middle class of commercials, and almost all the women in the domestic class are abstracted from it. To the rich of

the last table are added the dependent members of the possessional class proper; the paupers are the number roughly to be found in receipt of relief on any one day, and are only one-third of the total of permanent paupers and pauper fringe.

Competition (for profit) necessitates unemployed, won't works require no-works.

TABLE VIII.—SOME SPECIAL ANNUAL INCOMES.

Duke of Westminster	£500,000
Well-to-do Plutocrat	£60,000

These gentlemen, indispensable for the support of the State (of Classmen), are supported solely by the labour of others, and yet object to be termed "splendid paupers."

Mr. Speaker	£5,000 per annum.
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Not being able to save out of this he is spoken of as a deserving pensioner; the labourer, employed only at 18s. a week at intervals, is thriftless when he cannot save enough to keep him out of the workhouse.

A Club Idler	£500 a year.
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This is an "impossible income" to be married upon, yet one-fourth of our men have to try and rear families on less than £50 a year.

A Trade-union Secretary, "a battening agitator" ...	£150 a year.
Miner, "a spendthrift creature"	£60 "
Rural labourer, "a discontented being"	£30 "
Soldier, "a persistent grumbler"	£18 "
Pauper, "a drag to the State"	£8 "

TABLE IX.—MONOPOLY AND INCOME.

Class.	Average per family, annually.
500 Peers	£40,000
180,000 Landlords	£1,200
1,800,000 Classmen	£500
6,000,000 Massmen	£88

In this table the average family is supposed to be five; in this more than one is usually a wage-earner or a worker for salary or hire.

Parliament consists of 670 Commoners, so-called; in point of fact they are almost all middle-class men and totally out of

understanding, where not out of sympathy, with the common folk. The Lords, an integral part of Parliament, vary to about 580 on an average.

TABLE X.—FRANCHISE AND REPRESENTATION.

Ratio of Representation.	Average income annually.
If 1 man by 1 man	£40,000
If 200 men by 1 man	£1,200
If 1,500 men by 1 man	£500
If 400,000 men by 1 man	£88

For all practical purposes 500 peers out of a House of 580, the remainder having kindred interests, represent themselves.* If we add together the peers, landowning gentry in the Commons, and other members interested in land as well as capital, we obtain at least 900 members of Parliament interested in land. The other figures are obtained by taking 15 members of the Commons as entitled to call themselves labour men. The moral is that just in ratio to monopolist power over land, and through that over capital, so in the reward for labour. Where one man represents one man, he not only does no labour that is socially necessary, but receives, for doing nothing, the highest conventional honours in the land.

The indirect Parliamentary pay of the classes is the surplus-value they manage to extract from socially necessary labour, namely, £700,000,000; yet when Socialists propose that imperial and local taxation should pay members and election expenses to the amount of above £250,000 per annum, as the only peaceable way of establishing a means to the end of recovering this for labour, the working man is at once confronted by the interested possessionalist cry of—"It will increase taxation!"

The Trade Unions subscribe annually over £2,000,000 to protect themselves and gain per individual a precarious average

* This is a fact owing to their veto and non-elective character.

income of about £80 per annum ; yet they do not see that one-eighth of that amount spent in independent parliamentary action would, by destroying the Class State, secure to themselves four times that income for everyone without competitive anxiety, worry, misery, and shortened life.*

The total amount spent in Great Britain and Ireland technically in poor-law relief in the year ending Lady Day, 1900, was returned roughly as £13,500,000 ; in reality this is spent in such a manner as to wilfully frighten as many as possible into staying out and ending their lives by chronic starvation, in degrading deserving poor, and in supporting an officialdom to the extent of about two millions in this same year out of the former total.

"The total income of the charities of the United Kingdom, including endowments, amounts to £10,040,000, or little over 1 per cent. of the foregoing total ; £2,040,000 of this, it may be added, is expended upon Bible societies alone." (Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 112). (Quoted from Fabian Tract No. V.) The foregoing total referred to is the £920,000,000 taken annually by "the legal proprietors of the three natural monopolies of land, capital, and ability."

Add to this amount an equal sum for private charity, also the cost of poor relief, part of which is taken in direct taxation from labour itself, and we find that a sum of over £30,000,000 is obtained. This can be considered, after the deduction of a certain amount from the above, as subscribed by the surplus-value makers as a 3 per cent. insurance premium by the surplus-value takers to ensure the peaceful continuation of their £700,000,000 per annum. Disestablishment to the Church of England would mean that her members would have to raise in extra voluntary subscriptions over £3,000,000 a year, a sum her clerics despair of acquiring in that contingency ; and well they

* This note is written six years after the above. The fear of labour organised is now shown by the recent judicial decision by which Trade-union funds can be seized for actions done by individuals.

may in these days of human evolution, except they consented to the principle—no subscription without control. And yet in absolutely wasteful amusements we spend annually over £25,000,000 in "sport," the greater part of this being subscribed by her members. The following figures are taken from an article in *Pearson's Magazine*, May, 1896, by Mr. J. Mason:

Racing, deducting spectators' expenses	£9,818,000
Hunting	9,041,000
Shooting, deducting value of game killed	2,775,000
Angling, deducting value of fish	3,500,000
Coursing	400,000

	£25,534,000

For the sake of the middle-class querist it is just necessary to mention that when wealth pays labour for wealth's own amusement alone, such labour is socially wasted.*

In our various public institutions we find the following people at any one time, many of them victims of competitive civilisation, many there because they have never had the opportunity to be otherwise than they are. (These are the figures of the 1891 Census.)

Workhouses, with infirmaries and schools	235,596
Hospitals, other than rate-supported	36,137
Lunatic Asylums	84,733
Other lunatics	49,300
Prisons	22,851
Certified reformatories and schools	32,866

If to this number we add 830,000 as the average of out-door paupers receiving relief at any one time, we have a 3 per cent. of our population supported by other people. We have also about 31,000 blind in our midst, and over 19,000 deaf and dumb. Over 50,000 indoor paupers are children, over 30,000 being

* For example: While there are people needing food, clothing, healthy houses, holidays, and firing, the labour energy given to please a few is lost to society; it should be spent on common needs.

orphans. Over one million of human beings are constantly in receipt of poor-laws relief ; these are the necessary corollary to the 1,500,000 absolute idlers supported solely by others' labour. But of these only a portion are permanent paupers ; many only receive relief for part of the year ; the total affected in this manner in one year must be about 3,500,000. Of " 1,700,000 persons of 65 years of age 325,000 are permanent paupers," and of " 1,000,000 persons over 70 . . . 250,000 are permanent paupers." (Fabian Tract No. 17.)

About 15,000 persons are killed annually by fatal accidents, many such being due to over-strain or high-pressure labour ;* due to the same causes and to want of work are the majority of over 3,000 suicides a year. The permanent indoor paupers number about 160,000 ; we can classify them as follows :

Children	.....	.32
Insane	.....	.10
Infirm, aged, disabled	.....	.50
Able-bodied male adults	.....	.02
Able-bodied female adults	.....	.06

There are about 6,000 habitual vagrants out of the total relieved ; habitual criminals number now only about 9,000.

In the year 1900 the total number of deaths was 757,335 ; the births were about 1,158,921 ; and the sick-rate about 10 days per annum for each adult or juvenile of our workers.

In England and Wales in 1892, 66,424 deaths were registered as having taken place in workhouses, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, or 11.9 per cent. of the total deaths. Of these, 39,748 occurred in workhouses, 20,440 in hospitals, and 6,236 in lunatic asylums.

In London one person in every five will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1892, out of 86,833 deaths, 48,061 being twenty years of age and upwards, 12,713 were in workhouses,

* Yet recently, in the Commons, possessionalists of both parties combined to throw out a Bill lessening the risks to shunters and others on the railroad ; it meant new plant.

7,707 in hospitals, and 411 in lunatic asylums, or altogether 20,831 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1892, C—7,238, pp. 2, 72, and 96). The percentage in 1887 was 20.7 of the total deaths; in 1888 it rose to 22.2, in 1891 to 24.2, and in 1892 it was 23.9.

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In 1890-91, out of 175,852 inmates of workhouses (one-third being children, and another third women) no fewer than 14,808 have been members of benefit societies. In 4,593 cases the society had broken up, usually from insolvency (House of Commons Return, 1891, Nos. 366 and 130—B). Considering that comparatively few of the inmates are children, it is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual-labour class" must of course be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of out-door relief is not included in this calculation. As in 1892-3 the mean number of out-door paupers in the metropolis was 47,472, C—7,180, p. 266), and the average death-rate in London in 1892 was 20.3 per 1,000, it may be assumed that at least 950 persons died while in receipt of out-door relief—often from its being insufficient.

Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent. of the children of the upper class, 36 per cent. of those of the tradesmen class, and 55 per cent. of those of the workmen, die before they reach five years of age (quoted at p. 133 of "Dictionary of Statistics," by Mr. Mulhall, who, however, thinks it "too high an estimate.")*

16,343 persons died by fatal accidents in 1892 (Registrar-General's Report, C—7,238, pp. 193-7), 945 losing their lives in mines, 925 on railways, 228 in working machinery, 514 by poisoning and poisonous vapours, and 151 by falls from scaffolding, etc., in building operations. These are figures for England and Wales alone, and would be much increased by including the accidents in Scotland and Ireland.

The Board of Trade Report on "Railway Accidents" during the year 1892 shows that 534 railway servants were killed, and 2,915 injured, by accidents on the lines, being about 1 in 695 and 1 in 121 respectively, of the persons employed. (C—6,944, p. 5.)

* In 1902 about 25 per cent. of the total deaths are under 5 years of age.

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was 55 years; but among the artisan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to 29 years; and whilst the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only 8 children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent. succumbed at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real causes of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty" (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 130).

From *Fabian Tract* 5, paragraph, "Some Victims of the Struggle."

Knowing as all Socialists do the intensity of *la misère* in our land, we might well feel helpless and hopeless, if we did not know well from a scientific study of social economy that this state of affairs is remediable. For further information, if any reader would wish to study social questions from other than the views of the editors and other retainers of possessionalism bound to be special pleaders for their employers, let me recommend the purchase of *Fabian Tract No. 29*, with its list of over 550 books and reports for social reformers.*

Fortunately we know that our own land has sufficient acreage to support at once a population of 100,000,000 under Social-Democracy, when agriculture and labour would exist for the use of all instead of for rent and profit. Given the will, the way must appear.

* The address of the Fabian Society is given on page 288.

CHAPTER IX. OBSERVATIONS ON CAPITALISM.

Capitalism—commerce—position of the servile classes. Land *per se* not capital—wealth, definition. Labour the source of all wealth—commodities—definitions of capital—labour-energy the prime commodity. Property—personal capital—divisions of capital. Slavery and surplus-value. Surplus-value in Barbarism and Possessionalism. Present-day divisions of capital in Britain—absurdity of statement “it will flee the country.” Need of critical examination of comparisons of wage. Rent during last half-century. Causes of dominance of capital during that time—growth of Continental capitalism. Growth of railroads and sea services. Growth of professional and trading incomes. Economical freedom won by capitalism since the forties. Liberal and Conservative surplus-value takers each equally hostile to Labour. The increasing socialisation of capital—at home—internationally. “Saving” of capital. Louis Blanc on commercialism in 1849—Hyndman and Morris on capitalism in 1896. Want in Britain.

“The guilty Thieves of Europe, the real sources of all deadly war in it, are the Capitalists—that is to say, people who live by percentages or the labour of others, instead of by fair wages for their own. . . . All social evils and religious errors arise out of the pillage of the labourer by the idler; the idler leaving him only enough to live on (and even that miserably), and taking all the rest of the produce of his work to spend in his own luxury, or in the toys with which he beguiles his idleness.”—*Ruskin*.

“The requisites of production are two:
Labour, and appropriate natural objects.”

—*J. S. Mill.*

CAPITALISM may be defined as that state of society where the dominant classes control all commercial operations for their own benefit alone, where the servile classes exist at the capitalists' pleasure, neither owning the sources of wealth nor controlling its distribution, with merely a nominal voice in the affairs of government. In this form of society the workers conceive of “the Government” or “the State” as an entity outside of themselves—they merely think of themselves as being under “the State,” not as vital and integral portions thereof. The awakening to the consciousness of

their being in reality an indispensable portion of an organised aggregation marks the incipiency of the State of Social-Democracy.

Although land in its crude or virgin state is not capital, but is the source of capital, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the responsibility of the landowning and capitalist classes in the modern state, for in any well populated country even virgin soil has a social value attached to it owing to the collective operations and needs of the neighbouring populations ; without direct labour-energy being incorporated within it there attaches to it an increment of valuation beyond its fictitious "prairie-value." Since this social value finds its equivalent in the products of labour of these neighbouring populations it is already capital to a certain extent.

Wealth in its true sense is whatever confers well-being, well-living, well-doing upon a human being or upon society ; just as illth is whatever confers ill, ill-health, or ill-being. In an anarchic state of society or a degenerate state of the human unit, what is well for one class in the sense of profit may be ill to the majority, just as what confers well-being to one human faculty or function may confer illth or disease to the whole body at large. Cases in point are those of a class manufacturing adulterated drugs or food for profit, or enjoying a political monopoly in the one case ; of gluttony or lying in the other case.

Let me quote two individualistic professors of political economy as to what makes wealth. Professor McCulloch states that Adam Smith "showed that labour is the only source of wealth. . . . It is to labour, therefore, and to labour only, that man owes everything possessed of exchangeable value." Says Professor Henry Fawcett : "No wealth whatever can be produced without labour."

Labour is the performance of some bodily action in regards to the natural world, directly or indirectly, with the object of

acquiring some form of wealth, such action involving the expenditure of bodily or vital energy. Energy so expended is termed labour-energy. A "commodity" is some production from the natural world in which labour-energy is embodied: even if it be only wild fruit or living creatures caught by the hand there has been labour-energy spent in their acquisition—in this sense they are commodities.*

"Capital is commonly defined as wealth produced by human labour, and destined, not for the immediate satisfaction of human wants, but for transformation into, or production of, the means of such satisfaction in the future. Railways, docks, canals, mines, etc., which are classed as capital amongst the instruments of production, are really only somewhat elaborate modifications of land," (Fabian Tract, 7, page 5).

Capital may also be defined, and it would be better to restrict the term to this sense, as commodities destined for individual profit in the production of rent, interest, or business "profit," instead of for use alone. If we allow of this term being applied to both these functions of commodities (*i.e.*, of their existence either for use only or for profit alone), instead of only to the second as by some writers, we might distinguish between Class capital and Social capital; a distinction not altogether unnecessary, for some querists say we wish to abolish capital, and then ask—How can society then exist? It is wealth owned by a class for its sole profit that we want to abolish, not wealth owned by the State *en masse* with the object of utility instead of profit.

Labour-energy results from the expenditure of human force, and is in itself a commodity in that it has embodied in it previous labour-energy. Just as land is the source of all wealth, having in all settled countries a social value as well

* It would be best if all products of labour-energy were generally designated utilities or commodities, according as produced for use or profit; in this case a useful commodity would not be equivalent to a utility.

as a direct labour-value too; so does the human body, in its own self in part a product of "land," contain through heredity a social value and direct value too as regards its labour-energy. The social value is due to the effects of heredity, and is determined by greater adaptability or the opposite for education, for command, for manly service, for special kinds of employment, and for self-control; where such attributes have been the everyday occurrences of life in a line of ancestry, the necessary chemico-vital processes for the manifestation of these traits occur almost automatically, almost instinctively in fact. The direct value is due to training from childhood in all its widest aspects. In that no commodity can be produced without expenditure of labour-energy we can call the latter the prime and indispensable commodity. As long as any class allows of its labour-energy being utilised alone for profit, so long will it have to submit to the laws of competition, and of supply and demand. As soon as the workers recognise that they are worth consideration as other than commodities, so soon will the capitalist State be undermined.

Whatever a man possesses that is peculiarly his own in the powers of command that he exercises over it is his property, his special possession. Of all things peculiarly his own is his labour-power; so we may say that a man's labour-energy is his personal property, and, in that it is a commodity we can designate it as his personal capital. In the present day a man does not own his personal capital, for means of livelihood he has to sell it as a commodity to anyone who will purchase it, being only able to demand for it under competition a sufficient share in the wealth he produces as will allow of his being able to live for the purpose of future labour upon the minimum subsistence-wage required by his social standing and the customs of his class. When men socialise their personal capital voluntarily on terms where all are equal—that is, under conditions where the much-vaunted freedom of contract, which

only means freedom to starve or accept a subsistence wage, is abolished—they will utilise their labour-energy for personal utility and enjoyment, instead of allowing others socialising it for them as now for their own private profit alone. As all the old, bad restrictions of life, limiting our actions and reactions, are swept away by education, travel, abolition of the inferior human genera, and facilitated universal intercommunication, so is the social value in human personal capital being increased, and this unearned increment capable of yielding ever increasing beneficence to the human race.

For descriptive purposes several various sub-divisions of capital can be made. It may be personal or impersonal; to the first variety alone can Socialists admit that any sacred rights attach; all the vested interests of impersonal capital are vested wrongs where some right of personal capital is always infringed upon or injured. We say that all vested wrongs possess then no just claim for consideration other than abolition; that the question of appropriation of the wealth of the owner of such impersonal capital when its possession inflicts injury on an individual or the community is whether we injure his personal capital and deprive him of means of livelihood; that personal capital alone has claims.* For example, when the time comes to abolish the National Debt, the Social State must either find suitable employment for all its shareholders if they are fitted for some form of labour, or if unfitted, must recognise their claim for the average social income.

We can further sub-divide impersonal capital into movable and immovable; sub-dividing again immovable into unused land with a social value attached to it, and into specialised land with some labour-product attached to it, as railroads, canals,

* Let this be clearly understood. If the slave-owner has no claim ethically for compensation for his freed property, no more has the landowner when the State frees the source of ultimate wealth beyond some years' compensation.

highways, factories, farms, houses, wharves, piers, etc. The movable variety we can sub-divide into real and fictitious capital, the first form being some movable natural product or any manufactured modification thereof, as raw material, manufactured goods, implements, tools, foodstuffs, etc. Fictitious capital is that which exists only in the legalised power a person may possess to tax future industry in its products of labour. For example, the paper representing consols and shares has no intrinsic value except what the law confers upon it, this value consisting in the fact that all the armed and juridical forces of the land are at the command of the owner of this script, to enforce that the labour which confers the value upon the property the paper represents shall be taxed in surplus-value to the amount stated. Since the commodities represented by this surplus-value have to be constantly created and brought into existence by labour, such capital is fictitious wealth in the above sense; as many of the sons-in-law of present or deceased American millionaires will discover when the New World labour begins to refuse to submit to this taxation.

The essence of all slavery lies in the fact that personal capital, either under the influence of physical force or of the need to labour in fear of starvation when it is alienated from the land, becomes a commodity subject to the laws of supply and demand, capable of the same treatment as any other form of wealth or property. Slavery is impossible when men meet on equal terms as to the fear of starvation or physical force and mutually arrange to share the products, then alone does labour-force cease to constitute a marketable commodity. When a man can receive either personally, or impersonally as a member of the community, all the products of his labour, he ceases to be a surplus-value maker, for none in such a state then exist with the power to tax his labour. The rent of ability, or the increment of value attached to the labour of a

man who is naturally gifted through heredity with a higher social value in his labour energy, will in such case soon cease to exist, for the facilities of equal development will then be open to all.

In the social form of Savagery personal and movable capital alone exists, for savage dwellings are in no sense *adscripti glebae*, the personal capital exists in a social form alone. In Barbarism the dominant class, excepting in an autocracy, then a rare form of authority, possess their personal capital in a more or less socialised form, but amongst the servile classes chattel slavery is the rule, these really being movable capital; in Higher Barbarism the slave may be *adscripti glebae*. In Barbarism we find specialised land capital in the shape of fixed dwellings, cultivated lands, and fortifications, and landed social capital in all the higher grades owing to the need of adjacent land for hunting, pasturage, settlement, etc. In Lower Possessionalism chattel-slavery begins to die out, industry takes on the form of serfdom, ordinary labour being bound to the soil or the municipality for the sake of its surplus-value. The dominant classes, according to their power as surplus-value takers, are more or less socialised as to their personal capital; fictitious capital does not exist, excepting perhaps in the shape of deeds conferring the right to usury. Even in this social form the absolute idler is almost unknown, the princely caste are industrialists in that they are administrators and fighters, to the same extent are the landowning orders also industrialists; the commercialist is an organiser of labour, and the lady of rank performs customary household duties. It never occurs to her, as to her modern society successor, to shirk her share of maternal responsibilities and child-rearing, a form of labour upon which the future of the human race depends above everything else.

In Higher Possessionalism we find the social form of

Capitalism. In all European countries at least there is no land now without social value, and the very foundations of their wealth exist in the extent of the specialised landed capital. Reference to Table XV. on page 285, and a study of the various forms of capital tabulated therein, will show that at least four-fifths of the national capital is of the specialised landed variety, and is therefore immovable. And yet the apologisers of possessionalism, when not engaged in the parrotcries of "Order, order," "Society is endangered by new-fangled views," "Be patriotic," etc., are constantly telling us that "Capital will flee the country," "You will kill the goose that lays the golden egg," etc. It is very natural that this anserine argument should proceed from the exploited apologists of propertyism, but they overlook the fact that it is labour alone that creates capital or commodities, that the goose corresponds to the surplus-value-making proletariat, the egg being the commodities produced. This golden egg the owner of the goose annexes to himself, giving to the bird subsistence requisite for its existence—in all ages the owners of personal capital in the shape of slaves have been wise enough to grant to labour a subsistence reward. The owner of the goose does not lay the egg, the goose does; if labour can throw off the mastership of a class of surplus-value takers its products of labour still remain for its own enjoyment and use.* In Higher Possessionalism the revenues and the certainty of income enjoyed by the classes able to command these land-values is just in direct proportion to the monopoly of political power they possess. But when capitalism was struggling in the early part of this century for political supremacy it merely looked upon this power as a means to the end of economical freedom for their class; in the same manner must labour regard its demand for political equality.

* Was not the writer of this fable a slave? Was he not sarcastically showing the slaver-caste their dependence on his class?

The earliest method of obtaining surplus-value adopted by any class was that of enslaving personal capital in labour applied to the land, and, although it also soon came to be gained in crafts and in distribution, such methods were for long vastly subsidiary to that of agriculture. In the middle ages in England trade, in the shape of interchange of natural products of the staple variety, began to make progress ; * in time manufactures from natural products came to the front as well, surplus-value making from land then fell gradually behind as a source of national wealth. In the last century machinery became increasingly employed, the wage-slave became a machine-slave having no personal interest even in the form of his labour, much less in how much he produced, for the law of competition prevented his ever obtaining more than a subsistence wage. All inventive energy and intellect was then applied to manufactures, the profits then being enormous ; there was no incentive for a capitalist to invest it in land. In the first place the legal forms and technicalities to be observed before he could acquire freehold were almost prohibitive to small purchasers, in the next place there was less demand for foodstuffs from a poorly-paid race of workers at home than for manufactures abroad. If the agricultural middleman, the farmer, was successful as a surplus-value maker, there was nothing to prevent his landlord raising his rent and bringing the farmer down to the social subsistence-wage of his class. There was no inducement for him to invest thoroughly in the land, as his landlord could then, and can now, annex any increment of value he has placed in the land when his lease or term expires.† The middlemen and manufacturing classes felt both these two causes, and the fact that the monopolist prices paid for the land on which they established

* See page 172.

† The Compensation Act for improvements, being permissive, is a failure ; the landlords almost invariably refuse its application, being able to do so from the competition for holdings.

their factories and mills handicapped their power as surplus-takers, hence their innate opposition to landlordism, for they looked upon rent as a tax upon their industry. Not content with the increased wealth accruing to them from machinery manufacturing ten and even a hundred times the commodities formerly gained by one man's labour *for the same wage as before*, they brought in the wife and child to compete with the father and husband, giving the same subsistence wage for the added labour as formerly to the man alone. Handicrafts require apprenticeship, machine labour is possible by women and children. But, having gained political freedom in 1832, they wanted complete economical supremacy as well. This they gained by Free Trade, that is, free trade as far as their class was concerned. They perceived that a tax on food-stuffs, which was what Protection really was, meant a need for relatively smaller wage, but that in such case the worker, being better fed, could produce even more than before. The term relatively smaller wage needs explanation. Leaving out the evident question of fluctuations in purchasing power, the too often forgotten element of available labour-energy enters into the consideration of this expression. A man's wages may be increased by twenty-five per cent., but if his available labour-energy is thereby increased by fifty per cent., he is receiving relatively a cheaper wage. Again, he may lose certain privileges not counted as wage, to take the example of the agricultural labourer in point. His average wage is perhaps fifty per cent. more in cash than in the middle of the century, but he then had many privileges now lost to him. If there was no common or waste land available for his private use he often received the corners of his master's fields for his own use, or land attached to his cottage; he had special pay at harvest time, and other means of adding to his livelihood. If these additions were equal to fifty per cent. of his then wage and are denied now he is really no better off than then.

Again, the social standard of life may be higher ; for example, children all round in the working-classes are less scantily clothed than formerly, a higher subsistence wage is requisite now for this reason and for like causes ; rent is much higher, and better housing is socially necessary. Last of all, if a man had steady work before, at say £1 a week all the year round, if he receive now owing to our periodic spells of over-production twenty-four shillings a week for forty-one weeks in the year, his wage is not only a little less than before, but much less. And this is owing to the higher cost of living upon credit when out of work if he can obtain it, after which he is bound to that tradesman, compelled to purchase inferior goods at higher prices than if he could afford to pick and choose ; also it is so to the deterioration in his home owing to his household goods being gradually sold, to deterioration in health and character, too often leading to drink and even to crime. In possessionalism we are too much given to judge by cash alone, not by what it represents or what lies behind it. The defender of capitalism usually compares the condition of industrialism not only from the point of weekly wage now and formerly, ignoring altogether that of yearly wage and side issues as the above, but insists also on making the comparison with the early forties, a time when labour was at the very nadir of its fortunes in an economical sense as distinct from the sense of legal freedom, as far as such is possible to the poor man.

In another way did free trade break up the landlords' trade union, for such was the essential characteristic of the legislature in days before the Reform Act. Agricultural rents came to a stand-still as a whole ; in 1843 they were returned as about £70,000,000 ; in 1895 they were only equal to £57,000,000.* But it must not be thought that the landlord class has not reaped benefit from the increment of national

* Page 286.

income since that time; since then house-rent has gone up from £45,000,000 to £150,000,000 in 1896. It is the rural squire that has suffered, not the landowner with property on which a town has sprung up, or on to which suburbs have spread. Many of the smaller landowners ruined themselves by trying to compete in style of living with the *nouveaux richesses*; many have ruined themselves by rack-renting good tenants, less able ones replacing them, the rack-rented farmer was compelled to sweat the ground, and his successor, finding it less fruitful, was able to give less rent; many had mortgages foreclosed upon them; some were ruined by having to pay settlements contracted in more favourable years. This brought no small amount of land into the market, and the successful commercialist invested in it.

Coincident with free trade came the great discoveries of gold, the evolution of the railway system, and a vital growth of commercialism throughout Europe causing a demand for English manufactured articles, coal, and machinery, also for shipping transport. The revolutions and political storms throughout the Continent in 1848 were strictly analogous to our struggle for the Reform Act: the lower middle classes were demanding political freedom—in France they were re-demanding it.

Agriculture began to decline in Britain as a source of surplus-value taxation, the smaller country landlord had not capital to invest in his land, the more fortunate land-owner invested it in commerce. By-the-way, landlords make a great point of the amounts they spend in repairs, buildings, etc., on their farms; they seem to imagine that the whole income ought to be net, whereas in every other occupation men never count upon other than certain working expenses being legitimate deductions from the gross receipts. Manufactures increased daily as a source of surplus-value taxation, but those taxed began to turn under the new influences

favouring human evolution, they obtained from the legislature shorter hours of labour, better sanitary conditions, and some protection from injury in the Factory Acts from 1844 onwards.

The great increase in the land and sea transport services opened up a new source of surplus-value making. In little more than sixty years the capital embarked in railroads totalled from nothing to £1,176,001,890 in 1900. In that year the gross receipts were £98,854,552, and the working expenses only £64,743,520; there was £40,058,338 paid over mostly to idleness as dividends and interest. About one-twelfth of the national wealth is composed of our railroads, which we are asked to believe could flee the country with levanting capitalists. Coincident with this began the enrichment of the distributary trades, of the perpetual building of shops, stores, and other centres for the distribution of wealth from the manufacturers to the consumers. In 1843 the income of the professional and trading classes was estimated at about £90 millions as regards those paying income-tax; add £45 millions for those of these not earning enough to justify that taxation, and a class income of £135 millions is obtained. (This £45 millions has the same ratio to the "manual-labour" income as have the incomes of the same class below £150 a year to the manual-labour income now.) The professional and trading classes now receive about £410 millions a year, and Mr. Mulhall's calculation of the trading class income in 1890 was about £244,000,000, or two-thirds of the then total of £360,000,000. These figures will give an idea of the rapidly developed prosperity of the distributary trades.

Banking and credit organisations also rapidly developed, and virtually now the greater part by far of the transfer of wealth in this country is conducted by means other than hard cash.* Yet we are asked to believe by the apologists for

* Ninety-five per cent. is a recent estimate of the wealth transferred by means other than cash or currency.

capitalists that they could carry away the capital of the country, of which bullion is only part, forming about one-hundredth of the total, in which case they ask us to believe that exchange must cease. The law established the legal tender of gold as a means of exchange ; it could abolish it and establish paper-currency instead.*

The result of the almost complete economical freedom of this class was that capitalists began to socialise their own capital, finding that it paid them better to work together than against each other ; in the next chapter we will see to what extent this has been carried out. But since there was not equality of opportunity within their own ranks the greater capitalists have been gradually crushing the smaller ones and collecting into their own hands the control of almost every form of industry ; the only point they are agreed upon is that labour has no right to revolt from its position as surplus-value provider for themselves. With as equal unanimity and sometimes as great ferocity do Conservative and Liberal employers, Churchman and Chapelgoer, Unionist and Radical Town Councillor, His Majesty's Opposition and His Majesty's Government, combine their forces and socialise their power against insurgent labour, as ever did the feudal nobility sink their differences to crush a mutinous peasantry or a too independent city. The older proletariat had one advantage, they had open enemies, for their opponents were not afterwards compelled to stump the country hunting for votes ; they gave vent to war-cries, not to insidiously and studiously worded party catch-cries. The indignant appeals to the electorate that followed Michelstown and did *not* follow Featherstone, that were not heard after Trafalgar Square,† and were not heard also

* See page 256.

† Since this was written a more recent Trafalgar Square episode has occurred, the occasion of the meeting to protest against the then coming Boer war. A crowd of well-dressed roughs stoned the speakers, even throwing knives, etc.

during the Hull Dockers' Strike, are characteristic of the attitude of Tory, Liberal, and Capitalist Radical alike.

But in the last decade the great development in Capitalism has been the increasing solidarity of capitalists not only in a party sense, but in an international relationship as well. For example, when Armenian capitalists throw bombs, foreign consulates shelter them. A vast amount of capital is owned by men in nations other than their own at present; Great Britain leads the way with an estimated income of £100 millions a year, out of £1,700 millions in 1899, drawn from other lands. The great financiers who are behind the various credit organisations in reality know no nationality: all nations are more or less their creditors; a war, the greater the better for them, would equally benefit these international creditors. The losing side would want to borrow as a nation, the winning side would want to borrow as individuals, and during war a most delightful opportunity would be available to increase the general horror and misery by cornering all the necessities of life. Given a certain fixed income in excess of ordinary wants, the power of a capitalist goes on increasing for ever and ever. As explained earlier on, the power of a capitalist lies in the legal rights given him to tax future labour in surplus-value;* the part of the products of the wage-slaves he has power over he takes and exchanges for his own necessities and luxuries; the rest of these products, or of their equivalent if it so suits him, he lends out to others wishing to utilise them for a certain share again of the wealth that they can either produce or command a share of. But the great financier lends out this surplus to governments, invests it in consols, lends it to municipalities, or to some other authority with a population behind it that can be taxed, he invests it virtually in land-values. These being almost absolutely safe, for the credit of individuals or companies is not so sure, return smaller income; for all that he still continues to save.

* See page 215.

the ability of labour is equally indispensable as that of the capitalist-manager or organiser of industry.

At the commencement of the era of economical freedom for the capitalist, in 1849, Louis Blanc wrote as follows:—

Enter a modern workshop ; you will see a few men excited by cupidity to excessive toil, and subordinate to these, hundreds of others living from hand to mouth, with no chance of sharing any profit, and out of their scanty pittance with difficulty laying by a slender store, which the first stoppage, the first illness, will swallow up. What have such as these to do with emulation ? They are not combatants, but only arms of combat.

To determine in each individual an habitual and necessary subordination of his own hopes and desires to the welfare of the mass—this is the problem we have to solve. And this problem, as we shall presently explain, can be solved only by ASSOCIATION. Would personal interest, I ask, be suppressed if all the *hirelings* who now work for the benefit of others, and who consequently cannot be interested in the result of their labour, were transformed into associates, working on their own account, and therefore directly interested in working well ? So far, then, from admitting as available against us the objections drawn from the legitimacy and energy of personal interest, we adopt it ourselves, as an argument against the wages system which we combat. For where, after all, do we find for the hireling these pretended incitements of personal interest ? What is there but the tyrannic impulsion of hunger, to encourage him to labour, to attach him to production, to render his toil attractive, or even to alleviate his burden ? Alas ! to save by dint of privations a little hoard, which may enable him to traverse, without starving, a period of enforced inactivity, or to spare an aged parent the humiliation of ending his days in a hospital—is not this all that by the utmost forecast and extreme prudence he can ever hope to achieve ? The associative régime has over the wages-system this double advantage : on one hand that it satisfies for each the exigencies of personal interest, and on the other that it connects personal with general interests in such a manner as to sanctify the first, in multiplying a hundred-fold the influence of the second. The laws of human nature are commonly invoked in the name and for the profit of a few ; we invoke them in the name and for the profit of ALL. Between us and our adversaries this is the whole difference.

In 1896, after almost fifty years of progress, Hyndman and William Morris wrote in "A Summary of the Principles of Socialism":—"Proletariat production—capitalist appropria-

tion: workers make—traders take. Socialised production; individual exchange. Work in concert; exchange at war. Supremacy of town; subservience of country. Overcrowded cities; empty fields. . . . Capital dominates the planet, acts irrespective of all nationalities, grabs its profits irrespective of all creeds and conditions: capital is international, unsectarian, destitute of regard for humanity or religion."

Once the workers grasp the fact that there never is now scarcity of foodstuffs, clothing, etc., in Britain, but only a break-down through a competitive exchange of their distribution, they will insist upon socialised exchange, which will necessitate national production as well. Class production for class profit leads inevitably to overproduction at regularly occurring intervals, with spells of out-of-work and starvation, either from strikes, lock-outs, or discharge. Once the workers grasp the fact that there is room in our land for double our population and more, if agriculture were for national use instead of for class profit, under intensive culture and a sufficiency of labour and capital, being able then to feed that number with ease, it will insist on socialisation of industry with the prime object of tilling the nation's land. Once the workers see that machinery under socialised production could lighten the burden of labour by every increment of productivity in new inventions and application, instead of injuring them by causing their discharge and starvation by want of work, they will insist upon the socialisation of production—then Socialism is the form of the State.

See page 227.—Workers should carefully analyse any profit-sharing scheme presented to them. Granted a conscientious owner or directorate, since the production of profit depends upon a competitive *régime*, they cannot prevent the spells of overproduction consequent upon that system of ownership. If dishonest, there are several ways in which financial accounts can be legally cooked, and the workers may even find themselves working for diminished wage as an alternative to resigning and forfeiting their savings in the firm. Companies often compel the men to invest their profits with them; he then enjoys only the interest on his profits, being bound for the future.

CHAPTER X.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM.

The principle of socialism or mutuality—present in all human aggregates—even amongst the vested interests—Socialism—national—international. Collectivism — Social-Democracy — Communism. Christianity of the Churches useless for social regeneration—they will need to try Christ's Christianity to accomplish social reformation. Forms of authority—autocratic—legislative—administrative—analogues to these stages in physical and human growth. When administrative acts are truly Socialistic—the three principles. The socialistic principles applied in part in all ruling castes—trade-unions—co-operative production and distribution—Municipal Socialism—Joint-Stock Companies—the Post Office—Telegraph Service—Poor Law Service—the Armed and Police Forces—Certain Acts affecting industries—Various Societies—Semi-socialistic public Services. The probable organisation under Social-Democracy. The probable stages by which we will arrive thereto—the preparatory—the preliminary—intermediate—incomplete—and final stages.

"It is, indeed, certain that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organisation. The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labour."—*Dr. J. K. Ingram* (*History of Political Economy*).

What need of all this fuss and strife,
Each warring with his brother?
Why need we thro' the crowd of life
Keep trampling on each other?

Oh ! fellow-men, remember then,
Whatever chance befall,
The world is wide, in lands beside,
There's room enough for all. —*Lowell.*

THE principle of mutuality underlies every form and variety of society, from the fact that a mere animalised condition holds good excepting that mutual obligations, duties, and rights are observed ; such a principle is even present to a certain extent amongst some animal species, hardly ever extending beyond the family group, whether it be simple or compound.

In the Human Kingdom, according to the progress towards intellectuality and according to its manifestation, so do we find the principle extended from the simpler to the higher forms of society in ever increasing aggregations, or rather, it is the growth of the principle that causes the greater complexity of social form.

Where intellectuality is perverted, from the duty of labour and co-operative existence to the search of means for an idle or socially useless mode of life for individual pleasure and enjoyment alone, a dominant aggregate will deny to a weaker one the very principles it asserts as rights within its own body politic, often because it has never occurred to them that these latter have equal percipency for pleasure and pain, usually because the vitally interested tenth have told the remainder that they cannot feel as they themselves do. Says Heine: "We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into the arena, where, like gladiators, we must fight for them." In every aggregate there are present a certain proportion, probably one-tenth of adults, who have either capacity or will to study a question thoroughly and understand it. This vital tenth exists in all classes; the tone of the whole group, aggregate, or class, is taken from them; the rest allow them to set the pace, as it were. For many generations, especially in the classes, this vital tenth has been possessed by the one dominant idea of existence for individual profit; greatness has consisted in capacity to obtain wealth for individual use, not to create it for the common welfare; society has been socialised to a certain extent for their benefit alone. As soon as we can number a vital tenth convinced of the need of national Socialism we will not be far from its realisation, especially as it is demonstrable beyond all doubt that such a ratio of wealthy men can only exist upon a sub-stratum of social wreckage, upon a submerged tenth. Inequality in wealth can only exist with inequality of opportunity, granted an average intellectual capacity; and surplus-value takers can only exist where the social system allows of a permanent fringe of unemployed to compete one against the other for bare life; for under civilisation life can only be sustained through work and labour, pillage by armed force is vetoed.

There is a certain indefiniteness attached to the term Socialism, owing to this our not too scrupulous opponents of the press often use it in meaning different to the application we intend. When a man says he is a Socialist now-a-days, he means that he believes in national and international Socialism, not in the application of the principle of mutuality to lesser aggregates than national socialisation of a country's wealth and labour.

The principle has been of gradual growth in the past, and will advance in the future step by step and stage by stage, but—the final stages may follow in sequence with inverse geometrical progression, and a single generation from now might see us almost up to Social-Democracy, possibly even into such a social state.

The earliest stage of national Socialism will be that of Collectivism. In this state land will be nationalised and employment possible for all, the State providing capital for use on the land when requisite, but rent will still exist for its use, payable to the community instead of to private individuals; great advance will be under way also as regards the socialisation of transport, exchange, production, and distribution of wealth.

The state of Social-Democracy will exist where there is complete socialisation as regards political power, land, transport, exchange, production, and distribution, together with regimentation of labour, administrative power and the means of enjoyment of life depending upon the nation as a whole, a true democracy, since all would be workers.

The state of Communism* would exist if, under the above organisation, every person could take whatever he or she wished from the common wealth produced, there being no definite annual reward fixed for labour. It is difficult to imagine that

* This is one definition. But I believe that the more generally accepted one is the state of Social-Democracy, with an equal reward for labour to all adults, this being annually settled according to the nation's productivity.

the community would ever admit of this condition of reward until the human race is much nearer perfection than now.

The term Communal Socialism is best applied to the state of Social-Democracy. National Socialism is impossible as long as an inferior genus exists in any country to be exploited by a higher one, for if a vital tenth in the latter aggregate be thoroughly individualistic in idea, they live to extract surplus-value from the inferior classes. The Christianity of the churches, being individualistic economically and politically, can never regenerate this vital tenth to do their duty towards their neighbours by abolishing competition and idleness; the hope of Socialists rests in supplanting this dominant aggregate by one more vital still, one that will draw men to it by the power of a brotherly love of the type of primitive Christianity. Churchianity has tried for some seventeen hundred centuries to regenerate the world; the question of trying Christ's Christianity freed from the doctrines of men would be worth while of some consideration from the ministry of all churches alike.

In Great Britain we are fast approaching the time when the average man will be possessed of average intellectuality as well as of average manhood and potentiality; when all men have equal power the government will mean the whole adult population, and it will exist to administer rather than to legislate.

The forms that authority takes in governmental duties change according to the mental condition of those governed; we first find it autocratic, then legislative, then administrative, according to the growth of society. And these stages of growth of human aggregations have exact physiological processes manifested in the growth of the unit of human society from infancy to manhood.*

We start with the analogy that organs represent the individual, the body the human aggregate; and that the brain, the co-ordinating centre and dominant organ in its specialisations

* See Chapter XII., Table XI.

for the manifestation of intellectuality, represents the person in authority in any group. Aggregates with equal capacity will manifest equivalent relationships to the individual group.

In a group of individuals of the *genus puerile*, that is, in the state of Savagery, we find a patriarchal autocratic ruler of higher mentality only by experience. The new-born child exhibits at first merely consciousness and perceptivity, later on comes memory and will of the cerebral variety. Its principal functions are summed up in assimilation of foodstuffs and regeneration of individual cells in the rapid waste and repair of infantile growth. The savage group exists to eat, drink, marry, and be given in marriage ; its social consciousness, perceptivity, and memory, is most puerile. It acts from impulse, so does the child from the very wilfulness of its tissues, but for the very same reason the brain, owing to its specialisation in will, is the most wilful or autocratic of them all. In action the child's brain can be domineeringly strong, in re-action it is weak. In the savage group the social will, as distinct from the individual will of units, rests almost solely with the patriarchal chief ; it is strong in regard to relationships within the aggregate, it is weak in re-acting upon relationship outside of itself.

As the child grows we find that memory and will manifest themselves more and more until reason is well established ; at first it is, from want of experience, of the deductive variety, this is the characteristic trait of adolescence.* Rules of life and conduct are now formulated as regards others and the world in general, laws are laid down and observed more or less completely according to the quality of mentality available. But such lines of conduct, being accepted usually on trust from others, being extrinsic in origin instead of intrinsic from personal experience, although on the whole resulting in good, do not confer a perfect harmony in either external or internal relationships. The brain of the adolescent is working on the whole

* See page 253.

much more in harmony with the organs, to produce functional activity where cerebral mental action is necessary there is not requisite the same accurate and persistent supervision as in infancy, re-action to the outside world is not yet strongly definite and purposeable.

In any aggregate where the majority are in the adolescent genus the dominant class legislates by mutual consent within its own aggregation, that is, it lays down laws to be observed by the State ; an inferior puerile genus has no consent to be considered if it exists in contact with such an aggregation. The reasoning of the majority is deductive, whether they be in the dominant incipient virile clique or in the many of the adolescent genus who are ruled, as affairs have been so they must be, the latter believe as a maxim of life. Within the dominant clique many reason deductively alone in economical affairs from sheer intellectual laziness, the result of parasitism, or from a determination to allow of no other division of society than that of the slaver-caste and slave-class of Barbarism.

As an aggregate or groups of such become more and more uniformly virile, so do the majority take affairs into their own hands and agree together to administrate for their own welfare collectively, instead of allowing a few to legislate for them. When manhood is reached experience has taught inductive reasoning, the organs are working in a healthy physical and mental state harmoniously under the control of the body as a whole, functions necessitating wilful cerebral action are performed automatically as regards matters of everyday life, and resistance by will to harmful and disturbing outward influence is now strongly developed. In this condition the whole body is socialised at last ; and we believe that in like manner in the fully socialised state that economical functions of every-day life, that is, all that relates to organisation for social needs, will be administered by the body politic as a whole, and performed almost automatically and without the need of the incentive of

possible excessive individual profit ; also that in such case the resisting power against social injury from either outside or from internal disintegration will be most powerful and decisive.

The principle of mutuality exists in all class organisations for political power, always acting on like lines as a new class forms. Individuals acting by themselves for the first time believe in individual aggrandisement alone, acting solely one against the other ; mutuality steps in when they recognise that the surrender of the right to uncontrolled action will in the long run confer the greater benefit. They then enter into political class unions and legislate as to their own mutual relationship and as to the best means to exploit inferior classes. But since there is no equality of opportunity within their own class owing to some possessing greater ability or opportunity to exploit labour, there inevitably forms a ruling caste within themselves. The majority now extend the principle further ; instead of anarchical competition one against the other in the production and utilisation of wealth, they set to work to administer the sources of wealth and its distribution for the general advantage of their own special class. (We may say roughly that legislative action lays down the relationship to be observed by individuals one to another as individuals, that administrative government lays down the relationship that has to exist between individuals as members of a community and the sources and utilisation of wealth.)

To determine whether an administrative act is purely Socialistic, whether in the national or a narrower sense, we must determine whether it is in accordance with these three principles. First, the administration must be directly under the control of all those affected by such act ; secondly, the action must result in the greatest possible benefit accruing to all affected ; thirdly, those who are employed in performing the labour entailed must benefit equally with those they serve.

In a variety of ways do we see the Socialistic principle at

work in the present state, and most effectually as well as far as it is applied ; the application, however, falls very far short of fulfilling all the above principles in most cases.

The principal examples are the following :

TRADE-UNIONISM.—The underlying idea in trade combinations is to place labour on a more equal footing with capitalists in bargaining for the sale of labour-energy, the sole commodity of the worker ; to make employment less precarious by the abolition of competition between those offering this commodity for sale, and to ensure physically less risky condition of labour.

Out of about 13,000,000 manual workers about 1,370,000 belong to unions ; within the unions they apply most fairly the above principles in each society. But in a national sense each union is anti-Socialistic, each class of workers is striving more or less for its own benefit alone. Signs are not wanting that the administrative stage is now approaching, for the political stage was reached in 1867, when the first trade-union conference was held. Until 1871 such combinations were illegal, punishable by imprisonment. Capitalists could, and can now, on the other hand disarrange the prosperity of a country by their anarchical competition ; since they make the laws they are guilty of no crime. If seamen refuse to go to sea in a ship they believe to be unseaworthy, they can be imprisoned until it has been inspected ; even if it be proved they were right they cannot claim compensation. All the more glaring was the injustice of such a state of affairs, for the legal profession has been for generations a trade-union, with the third principle involved rather for those employed, the lawyers, than against them ; the ecclesiastical profession has been organised more or less on the same lines for some centuries ; as also the profession of medicine since 1858. In all these cases the legislature sanctioned the unionism in these classes, it opposed it in the case of the manual workers. Worst of all, the Parliament in pre-Reform days was a trade-union of the landlords, their

employees, the farmers, being well remunerated. The Parliament is now one vast union to protect capitalists in the extraction from labour of surplus-value, only the nation at large do not realise that the well-to-do administer labour and wealth production for their own benefit alone. The fact that almost the whole of industrial legislation has been in the last few decades aimed at removing injustices and granting humane rights is most damning evidence against the exploiting classes. The trade-unions spend about £2,000,000 a year to secure an average income in the better paid societies of about £80 a year, or £80,000,000 in annual class income, or an insurance premium of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. One-eighth of this expenditure devoted annually to parliamentary work alone could secure command for the working classes of the administration of the State, and a certain and much greater income. As a means of advance trade-unionism is done for, except it becomes nationally socialistic in aim and administrative in action ; that it probably will do so is indicated by the Socialistic vote of the Trade-Union Congress of 1894, by about seven for to two against.

Socialised capital has vanquished labour socialised in trades, capitalists are united even internationally against labour. Besides, capitalists always hold the whip-hand by the power of the lock-out ; when they have over-produced they demand a reduction of wage, force a strike if possible, and sell off their accumulated stocks at famine prices.* Short of that they discharge hands, and neither policy can trade-unionism hinder in the least possible way.

CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.—The principles of socialised action are more or less observed here in such societies, but imperfectly in all cases, the object being production and distribution for profit (given to the members),

* A great example of this was the Midlands coal strike in 1893. Certain Liberal statesmen came to the front and made peace, but *not until* the accumulations of stock were nearly sold out.

not for use alone at the labour-cost involved. A further tendency is to secure control for the consumers as against the producers or distributors, thus acting against the principle that the whole community have equal rights in any matter under consideration. The self-supported communities attempted by Robert Owen, and the self-governing workshops started by the Christian Socialists in 1848, were too detached in every way from one another to succeed. The first Congress marked the entrance upon the second stage of organisation, since which time the principle of Federalisation has proceeded. The next step will be towards gaining economical freedom as far as possible by inter-co-operation, by acquiring land when opportunity is granted by legislation, and creating all commodities required, thence exchanging and distributing in co-operation; by establishing a Free Currency system, exchange being through labour tickets or checks either for commodities or services; and by Capitalisation of Dividends. The nominal capital of Trades-Unions, Co-operative Societies, Friendly and Provident Societies, was £12,661,415 in 1889, or roughly, £1 in every £1,000 of national wealth. If this be the result of fifty years of co-operation we may wait much longer before it will command the national industry.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.—This is a growth only of very recent age, but it affords marked evidence of the trend of public feeling. The vested interests in national taxation are able to throw a most unfair amount on to the shoulders of labour by indirect taxation. The system of rating for local purposes forbade indirect and unsuspected taxation, so they did the next best thing. They not only annexed through legislation until very recently the whole machinery of local government, but they have agreed in many municipalities to own the works necessary for public life and to administer them themselves. owing to the greater efficiency and cheapness of this process. Where large towns have not adopted municipal socialism the

reason lies in that the dominant group, being shareholders in private companies now supplying the requisite commodities and services, find it pays better in their own special case to be rated higher and retain their dividends.

Mr. Sidney Webb says in the "Labour Annual" of 1896, on page 77, giving authorities for his statement: "No complete return can be compiled of the land, buildings, works, plant, and capital of one sort or another which they (local governing bodies) now own and administer; but it cannot certainly be less than £400,000,000." This amount represents one-thirtieth of the whole national wealth. In many cases the socialistic principles are imperfectly carried out owing to sweating of employes so as to return greater profits to the local treasury; and owing to unnecessary middlemen, instead of a municipal staff, being employed to oblige friends of the dominant class upon the local authority. Of course, to aim at a profit at all in municipal administration is an unwise policy and unsocialistic in ultimate tendency.*

In the above total are to be found in round figures the following items of total capital embarked in certain public services, it being municipally or nationally owned:

Water Supply	£60,000,000
Gas Supply	£24,000,000
Tramways	£2,500,000
Harbours, piers, docks	£40,000,000
Markets	£7,000,000
Cemeteries	£3,000,000
Education (Schools and plant)	£40,000,000
Hospitals	£5,000,000

Municipal authorities have also begun to administer the following services which either are public, or ought to be made such: Electric lighting; baths and wash-houses; municipal workshops to supply the commodities that local authorities re-

* Where ratepayers need proof of successful administration a financial balance to the good is not unwise at first, but the better policy is to reduce prices. For example, if trams pay a good profit, fares should be reduced.

quire ; housing ; secondary, special, and technical schools ; public libraries and reading rooms ; drinking fountains ; parks and open spaces ; gymnasia and seats ; lavatories and latrines.

For what has been done, and could be done further in municipal socialism, let me recommend a perusal of Fabian Tracts, Nos. 8, 10, 18, 21, 26, 27, 30 to 37. (The whole number of the pamphlets and leaflets can be obtained for £1 ; they can be obtained bound for 3s. 6d.)

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES.—The total amount of the industrial capital of the country is now about £4,130,000,000, the total capital being over £12,000,000,000. Of the above amount no less than five-eighths, or £2,690,000,000, is under joint stock management ; the whole trend of industrial organisation is towards socialisation in production.

The whole efficiency of the working arrangements of these companies, which are socialised for production and distribution within themselves but competitive between themselves, rests in the hands of paid managers and salaried officials, the shareholders being in no wise concerned in the direct working. Is there any legitimate reason why under nationalised industry these same managers and officials should not do equally efficient labour? If the railroads were nationalised to-morrow the staffs would not need to be altered. But under socialised industry for national purposes there would be these gains towards greater efficiency in working arrangements. Since competition for profit would be absent, the officials would be free from the wearing anxiety thereby entailed and able to devote their energies in other directions ; the employes, as an integral part of the nation, would be shareholders as well, with direct interest in efficiency of labour, knowing that every improvement meant less labour instead of some being discharged, as now, whenever improved machinery is introduced, or waste prevented ; and wasteful competition, over-production, sweating, and advertisement, could then be prevented.

There are no legal monopolies now in trade ; any man or any company can commence business alongside any other. Once granted nationalisation of land, or even compulsory sale for certain public purposes to municipal or rural communes or districts, labour could establish inter-coöperative businesses in every district in England ; granted a sufficient number of adherents for custom from itself, it could soon either beat out those businesses owned for individualistic profit, or take them over at reduced price when they found their customers falling away.

The smaller working commercialists and managing capitalists are gradually being either crushed at present and returned to the ranks as ordinary industrialists, or are being absorbed as such into joint stock companies, or are holding their own under such terrible anxiety that they will soon welcome any change for an easier life and a more certain income. In the cases of the railroads and mines nationalisation is not far distant ; we have objective lessons in such conduct of industry, both in certain of our colonies and in some continental countries ; the rule is that European nations control their railways. The control of our railroads is passing into fewer hands, and legislation is enacted now rather for the shareholders than for the community, this being one cause in the downfall of our agriculture ; in the present House of Commons are 78 members interested in them, and probably as many or more in the Lords.* Although many of the smaller commercialist class are interested also as well, they see now that cheaper rates would more than counterbalance the loss in shares ; in like manner a steady price for coal, instead of prohibitive prices during lock-outs and strikes, would counterbalance any loss from dividends from mining.

* This was written in 1896. Since then the trust system has grown tremendously in the United States, causing great growth of Socialism in the middle classes ; in this year, 1902, the Tobacco Syndicates in Britain commence the system here.

Another thing is opening their eyes and showing them that their struggle under competition is futile, and that is the formation of rings, corners, syndicates, pools, and monopolies, to control whole industries, now rendered possible by the massing of smaller concerns under company management. Just as the smaller capitalists can lock out their hands when it so suits them, with the object of selling off accumulated products at higher rates, so are they beginning to perceive that the international financiers are able to act towards them with an equivalent object in view.*

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SOCIALISM.—In no case does Socialism proper exist in the directions to be indicated, but the three essential principles are more or less present, that the nation has a right to control industry for the general benefit, for the commonwealth. The administration will be more perfect when the nation actually instead of theoretically forms the State ; at present all such services and measures are only in part as they should be, since they have been forced from an unwilling class legislative authority.

The Post-office.—Theoretically worked, and that most efficiently as far as the nation is concerned, by the community, it falls short in that its staff is overworked and underpaid. As soon as commerce felt that national effort could serve it more cheaply than individual profit-making monopolies it nationalised this service. The Postmaster-General, the manager of a State department, is now the largest employer of labour in the kingdom, his staff amounting to over 200,000 persons.

The Telegraph Service (with the Telephone Service) employs over 15,000 persons ; the requisite principles are as vivified as in the postal service.

The Poor-law Service takes charge in a most indif-

* The international financiers now own or control the smaller capitalists whose range of operations is only national ; they settle questions of peace or war amongst white races, and order spheres of influence in China and elsewhere.

ferent manner of over 1,000,000 of the population, mostly pensioners of industry, treating them as criminal and wrong-doers.

The Army, Navy, Marines, Police, and Irish Constabulary number over 540,000 persons in the employ of the State at the beginning of 1902; as in all class governments the rank and file employed are paid mere pittances as compared to the superior orders of officials. The example of the Post-office and of State railroads in other countries is proof that an industry can be nationalised. The example of the German nation in 1870-71 being socialised for one object, the pursuit of war, and that an occupation repugnant to most concerned and one from which the rank and file obtain no benefit, is proof of the possibility of socialising a nation; given the will for national socialisation of industries for peaceful existence, why should success be questioned?

In all, without counting these armed and police services at all, there are over 250,000 persons in the service of the State without middlemen intervening for profit.

CERTAIN ACTS PARTIALLY ADMINISTERING INDUSTRY mark the Socialistic advance. These are—Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Truck Acts, Adulteration Acts, Lands Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Employers' Liability Acts, and Public Health Acts, all asserting the right of the public to claim its rights as against individual profit-making and uncontrolled action. No wonder that Mr. Herbert Spencer, judging of the wealth of life from his class experience, ignorant from personal experience of the wearing anxiety and degradation felt by the workers in their mutual wild-beast competition, indignantly inveighs about the rising flood of socialisation, unable to understand that the majority are now slaves, and that however much he might view national Socialism as a "Coming Slavery," they would not do so when they understand that they would obtain individual freedom for everything but the liberty to starve or work at high-pressure labour for a pittance reward.

In the *Contemporary Review*, April, 1884, he wrote under the title of "The Coming Slavery," unable apparently to grasp the difference between socialised industry ordered by a Class State or administered by a Mass State. He says: "Already exclusive carrier of letters, exclusive transmitter of telegrams, and on the way to become exclusive carrier of parcels, the State will not only be exclusive carrier of passengers, goods, and minerals, but will add to its present various trades many other trades. Even now, besides erecting its naval and military establishments and building harbours, docks, breakwaters, etc., it does the work of ship-builder, cannon-founder, small arms maker, manufacturer of ammunition, army clothier, and boot maker; and when the railways have been appropriated, 'with or without compensation,' as the Democratic Federationists say, it will have to become locomotive carriage builder, carriage maker, tarpaulin and grease manufacturer, passenger canal owner, coal miner, stone quarrier, omnibus proprietor, etc. Meanwhile its local lieutenants, the municipal governments, already in many places suppliers of water, gas makers, owners and workers of tramways, and proprietors of baths, will doubtless have undertaken various other businesses."

Organised industry will open up a freedom, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, hitherto impossible to five-sixths of our nation.

VARIOUS SOCIETIES of working and lower middle-class origin, as the Friendly Societies, Burial Societies, Building Societies, Industrial Life Assurance Societies, Provident Societies, to make life less precarious; Humane Societies, to either spread the feeling of humanity, or protect those too weak to assist themselves; Scientific and Scholastic Societies, to add to the wealth of human knowledge and its application to affairs generally; and Religious Societies, to spread the growth of religion, all are evidence of the socialistic principle of mutuality. In almost all of these cases the labour is gratuitously performed,

and no labour often performed better, giving hereby the direct lie to the apologist for capitalism who asserts that men will not work except with the incentive of profit or high pay before them.

All these instances are merely examples of that "deepening and softening" of the human character which is so characteristic of this era, which lead the majority by blind faith in the intrinsic merits of each cause rather than by reasoning, to decide for freedom of speech, freedom of opinion, freedom of thought; for the abolition of chattel-slavery, of imprisonment for debt, of child labour; for the enactment of free education, and of all semi-socialist acts recently mentioned. This deepening and softening is a terrible grief to the sturdy (for which read brutal) conscious individualists of past days, else their tears are as those of crocodiles; those who are honestly afraid of this trend of national character are in the position of the slave unwilling to accept freedom because he fears, after his virtual imprisonment and apathy in re-action, to enter upon the wider and better world without and beyond him.

SEMI-SOCIALISTIC PUBLIC SERVICES.

1. *The Various Roads and Public Pathways*.—These are responsible to some extent to the Board of Trade, but are not administered by a central department, various local authorities being responsible for administration. They are even semi-communistic, being free to everyone now, every adult directly or indirectly paying their quota and able to utilise any they think fit.

2. *The Educational Service*.—Since education is now free to every child in consideration of the tax contributed either directly or indirectly by its parents, this service can be called semi-communistic too. It now requires a proper gradation of secondary schools and free university or collegial education to make the training complete for those specially requiring it; it

needs a proper treatment in numbers and otherwise of the teaching staffs, who ought also to be State servants as the poor-law officers are ; and it requires a practical central administration to become truly a Socialist department of State.

3. *The National Church*.—In that every inhabitant of these islands is in theory still a member of this Church and can claim its services, this body can be called semi-socialistic.

Many querists say that the State, meaning thereby the Class State, could not manage for common welfare the business of the nation. To judge by the national illth now extant it is quite sure that it cannot. But legislators must ever be ignorant at first source of the needs of those they legislate for ; the essence of legislation is that a class, or caste, rules helpless or inert masses ; under Social-Democracy there would be no bureaucratic control, for delegates in direct touch with the nation at large would administer as they were directed ; this state cannot be arrived at whilst the masses are inert.

Under Social-Democracy the country would be divided into local government districts as now, known then as rural or municipal communes, with aggregations or sub-divisions thereof as most convenient. These would all be autonomous in local government, local industrial legislation, and administration of industries, subject to the national welfare, hence there would be no bureaucracy, and each locality, knowing its own affairs best, would administer them to best possible advantage. The central authority of administration would only interfere to ensure harmonious working between individuals and aggregates, apportioning to each when occasion arose their contributions in labour and goods for national purposes and the common welfare.*

Probably we will arrive to national Socialism by certain stages, each preparing the way and hastening on the next with increased speed and greater efficiency, depending on the education of the proletariat. We may exist under Social-Democracy

* See page 249.

before very many years are over. It is impossible to indicate exact steps and to foretell all the necessary processes ; as in the training of the individual constitution from ill-health of adolescence to a sound constitution in adult life the treatment is only exactly indicated at each fresh stage of growth, so in the present ill-health of possessionalism the treatment must vary as progress is made.* But certain rough lines of curative action are clear. Monopoly is the cause of competition, competition causes our social anarchy. The prime monopoly of all is that of land, this cause of social disease we must remove by enlisting on our side the sympathetic aid of the patient.

According to tenure of land and the organisation of labour we can differentiate at least four probable stages towards Communal Socialism.

1. *The Preparatory*.—This is the present time, with the features just mentioned. The land not held for individual purposes is less than one-fortieth of the whole, it consists of highroads, highroad wastes, common land, waste lands, Crown and Duchy lands, together with municipal, parochial, and quasi-public land administered by national officials. The co-operative societies and joint-stock companies show some tendency to socialisation in production and distribution, for competitive profit though, and not for use ; in transport and exchange the principle of general amalgamation is absent, excepting that the railroads mutually agree for their own profit, and that municipalisation of tramways has commenced.

2. *The Preliminary Stage*.—This we will enter upon as soon as the principle of the right to labour is conceded, and this can only be scientifically granted by applying surplus labour to the land. It is probable that amended powers will be granted to municipalities and rural parishes whereby they must, not may, make provision for the unemployed that they are responsible for, by compulsory purchase of a certain amount of land for utilisation in this way. Permissive acts exist now whereby

* See page 251.

Boards of Guardians could hire, under 59 Geo. III., c. 12, and others, fifty acres of land in each parish in a union, upon which to set the unemployed to work "at reasonable wages" with "such and the like remedies for the recovery of their wages as other labourers in husbandry are by law entitled to." Since District Councils and Boards of Guardians are composed of possessionalists, they naturally ignore these acts. The only rational method to go to work in is to recognise that under competition a permanent fringe of unemployed always exists, that these must first be absorbed without waiting for a spell of hard times, then to treat special periods of trade depression locally. If the three million acres of Crown and Duchy lands were split up as tenancies fell vacant into small holdings, the freehold remaining, of course, the property of the nation, with the protective principles to the tenant observed in the recent Irish Land Acts, and if they were devoted either to intensive culture or co-operative farming, the permanent fringe of unemployed could soon be absorbed at a saving of cost to the nation.* Given a Parliament strong enough to pass this kind of legislation, it could attack the land monopoly directly, and before long many owners would only be too glad to sell out; local authorities could then invest. Co-operative farms could then amalgamate with like stores in the towns, and inter-co-operation could commence. Once this were done, we could attack the banking system by exchanging on labour cheques or tickets. By this time the railroads, canals, and other means of special transport would be nationalised, or have become municipal or parish property, as the case might be. By this time, also, the poor-law, education and other public services would have been thoroughly democratised as well.

Intermediate Stage.—This would be reached when half the

* A law pressingly required is that lands, owned either by the nation or local authorities, should not have their freehold sold, nor even long leases granted, also that estates held under a reversion to the Crown if male issue fails, should not be allowed to compound for their freedom.

land was held by individual owners and half by the nation, or by public bodies ; once this stage were reached resistance would soon collapse to national Socialism. If the mines and quarries and other underground wealth had not been nationalised by now, there would now be no opposition in that direction ; the fisheries could now be organised, and seagoing transport built or taken over by the nation. A great extension of municipal and parochial production of wealth in the towns and country would be going steadily on ; together with this would proceed more and more the disuse of precious metals, and the general acceptance of exchange by labour cheques, the inferior forms of transport and distribution would be gradually coming under public control, and a national system of hospitals and medical attendance would be rapidly forming.

The Incomplete Stage would next be arrived at, when the greater part of all land was held by public authorities, when every municipality and rural parish could control the production of wealth requisite for it from this cause. Currency would soon linger only for national purposes, and the production of wealth would gradually fall more and more into communal lines, being chiefly produced for use, and for contribution for national purposes. There would still be a certain amount of incoördination between demand and supply of wealth.

The Final Stage of Social Democracy would be reached when people then saw the advisability of complete socialisation of industry and labour. To bring this about all the land would be declared national property, and labour would be regimented to secure the production of wealth in the ways most beneficial to the commonweal. Currency for home purposes would cease, and reward for labour would soon fall to an equal standard of reward. The country would be divided into almost autonomous municipal and rural communes under the co-ordination and control of a national authority.*

* See page 246.

CHAPTER XI.

SOME POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIALISM.

Socialism will not be a perfect form of society; it will be better than the competitive stage—the extent to which Socialism is present now—the need-of-incentive argument—unconscious altruism one cause of human progress. Signs of the coming crisis—Labour is virile—altruism—knowledge increasing—inventive genius (effects of)—increasing militarism—internationalism of capital. The social form under Social-Democracy—Duty of labour—right of franchise—nationalisation of land—capital—transport—exchange—ultimate common equality in reward. A Parliament of Mass instead of Class Delegates. Probable State organisation—the Public Departments of Land—Manufactures—Transport—Distribution—Household Affairs—Non-effectives. Outlines of these departments. Organisation—regimentation—and training of labour. Society balanced—under Possessionalism—under Socialism. Local and departmental authorities. The possible outline of the Speech of the Chief of State at the opening of the session of the House of Delegates.

"This that they call Organisation of Labour is the Universal Vital Problem of the World. It is the problem of the whole future for all who will in future pretend to govern men."—*Thomas Carlyle*.

Ring out a slowly dying cause,
And ancient forms of party strife;
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.

—Tennyson.

SOcialists do not assert that Socialism will be a perfect form of society; they do assert that it will be a better and more advanced state than the present condition of the highest races of mankind. However much the apologists of the *status quo* may deride "advanced" movements, they are unable to gainsay the historic fact that the world is always becoming better, that "advance" has been persistent and always beneficial to the community at large.

Those who accuse us of wishing to experiment upon society and establish a new era are absurdly ignorant that Socialism

is not only present with us now in the forms recently mentioned, soon to evolve by desire and organise into the higher state of Social-Democracy, but ignore the fact that all civilisation however imperfect, all society however perverted, all justice however degraded, acknowledges more or less the principle of mutuality—of Socialism.

When they say that Socialism "forbids" this or that, they know not of what they talk ; it forbids a man from doing nothing that is harmless and devoid of evil effect upon others ; it does certainly forbid him from enjoying wealth and welfare gained by others' hurt and illth, but surely the conventional Christians who plead the forbidding aspect do not refer to this !

When they ask us to demark all its progress in the future before they can accept it, they might as well refuse to live since it is as impossible to accurately foretell a nation's future as the life-tale of any individual thereof.* When they quote their political economists to say that avarice and the incentive of gain alone move mankind, we say that we refuse to hold as infallible the dicta of men whose sole experience and ideal of life was founded in the musty books of schoolmen, formulated in the study, balanced by credit-and-profit in the ledger, adulterated in commerce. We ask them to leave these products of unnatural existence, and to stand with us in the presence of Nature and God's men and women who reflect from out of an always more or less imperfect house of clay an image whose sublimity and grandeur is beyond them. Nature shows God's will in an unending evolution towards higher and mightier forms upon which is conferred ever grander and farther reaching power, with manifestations ever ascending to more complex and beautiful life. The divinity in man, rather, the real and royal man, refusing to be bound by "does it pay," is shown in the gently-reared lady nurse on the battlefield, the lifeboat rescuer risking his children's bread to save others, the soldier saving a comrade,

* See page 246.

although giving his own life, and by the heroes of the fire-fight, of science, of religion, and of the unknown calls to duty in every-day life. And yet, there are those, whose sole idea of manhood is a well-filled breeches' pocket, or prerogative to tax the labour of thousands, who declare that avarice and incentive of profit are the only motive powers in the world. To those who ask us what Socialism will culminate in, we say that they ask of man what is beyond his ken. That we are trending alway to a higher state is sure ; what it will ultimately be we know not, for the kingdom of God cometh not with observation.

Physical force manifested in slavery was once the motive power of the world, money accumulated by competitive commerce is now the ruling passion ; in the course of human progressence love gained ground, and chattel-slavery was swept away ; love will increase, and the wage-slave and the class who owns him, themselves slaves to greed, avarice, and cant, though often in ignorance and pride, will also be unknown, love will still the more abound.*

All progress has not been materially economical in aspect, unknown and unsuspected has been the growth of love throughout the history of man, in the human being have alway dwelt the good and the bad, and many men, *when they feel*, prefer to follow the good in faith, even when it may profit to be bad.

Why are we Socialists so sure that a great and far-reaching change is nigh at hand in all the foremost lands at this, the present day ? We say that the great advance in altruism, in the deepening and softening of human nature, that is so terrible to the hired mercenaries and champions of possessionalism, marks a new era, that history exhibits every sign of repeating itself before long in a general crisis, that an economical consideration of society shows that a speedy breakdown of the social forces

* The class referred to are those of possessionalists and their retainers who are merely material in relationship to those working for them, fortunately a large number of people exist who ethically are Socialists, but ignorant of its economics.

that produce and distribute wealth is at hand. In the economical aspect we observe these factors :—

1. Labour itself is no longer puerile in intellect, it is rapidly passing from the stage of the impetuosity and the uncertainty of adolescence to the sternness and decision that spring of a recognition of its political manhood.* It is fast casting away the swaddling clothes of the vested interests of ecclesiasticism, and it will soon do away with the "bound" press and political economists, the present day successors of the former enslaving priesthood. It is discontented that work should mean leisureless toil, that lifelong labour should be rewarded in many cases indeed by the barbarism of the poor-law, that all its efforts should go to make its condition worse.

2. Often in the ranks of the slaver-caste the spirit of altruism is making its presence felt and obeyed, their children will be less hostile to progress and the duty of labour.

3. Out of evil comes good ; competition has enabled a vast diffusion of thought and knowledge through cheapened printing, literature, education, and intercourse. A press bound to act as its capitalist proprietors order, finds itself unable to suppress all news of Socialism for fear some other ally gains a march by reporting in the hope of profit.

4. All the inventive genius of the age only brings the downfall nearer. Every new labour-saving machine dislocates much more labour than it employs in production ; under possessionnalism this means an increase in wealth for the well-to-do, starvation from want of work to the labourer. When the latter understands that under a socialised state it would mean more wealth for universal distribution for less labour, he will make his voice heard.

5. The increasing militarism on the Continent (and recently at home) hastens the breakdown of possessionnalism. A nation armed is a nation trained against the dominant class if the will

* See page 233, *et seq.*

be present ; the ruling classes must either go to war and risk a revolution after from an outraged democracy able at length to perceive the guilt and horror of bloodshed, or it must grant increasing political and social concessions to the alternative of reducing war taxation.

6. The internationalism of capital is daily growing, and will inevitably be opposed by the internationalism of labour ; before long the only people to benefit by war will be the gang of international robbers designated as financiers ;* before long labour will recognise that it loses everything and gains nothing by competition, whether in the battlefield, in the market, or the strike.

7. In England we live upon credit, a pass we have been brought to because we have aimed at becoming the workshop of the world. We raise some foodstuffs, but have to import about three times as much to feed our population. We pay for this by labour-power spent in manufacturing goods from raw materials we import (the amount of mineral wealth we export is not a set-off against the raw commodities we import). Our imports for manufacture are chiefly obtained upon the credit that we will be able to export and sell them in a finished form ; our imported foodstuffs are gained upon this credit also. To this pass of destitution if our markets fail, if we get out of work in a national sense, have our thrifty capitalists of the Manchester school brought us ! "But," say they, "you Socialists are so unpatriotic." The patriotism of the Manchester School has armed every nation on earth against us, either directly with ships or arms, or indirectly through our inventions and mature experience.

" You Socialists are so short-sighted !" The far-seeing Manchester School has supplied machinery and manufactures to every nation that would purchase until the foreigner has been

* This is not abuse ; these financiers give nothing except the use of the legal bond they hold over the future wealth earned by workers ; they give nothing of their own mental or physical energy.

able to copy and compete against their workmanship. This fact has to be faced ; for this reason our foreign commerce is leaving, and must leave us. India, for example, has been taking our cotton trade ; the treaty made by Japan with China after the last war will finish it.

For these reasons we believe in the speedy downfall of the empire of possessorialism ; the fall of Sedan and the capture of the disorganised and evilly-led French army was stupendously sudden ; the Sedan of capitalism before organised and trained industrialism may come with the suddenness of a summer thunder shower.

If this downfall came to-morrow, which with us as a total collapse is both impossible and far from desirous, what would happen to the propertied and leisured classes ? What justice would be meted out to them ? That brings us to the questions of what would be the ultimate form of Social-Democracy as far as we can foresee.

1. Since labour alone creates the necessities and luxuries of life, all would have to perform their due share of labour to the best of their ability and power. It is no use to say that you cannot make a man work ; few will starve to death if labour will support them. Capitalists live upon contemporary labour, which alone makes capital of avail, not upon capital ; capital could not exist where no monopoly of political power was to be found.

2. The performance of the duty of labour would entail the right to the franchise. At present, the greater the idler, if wealthy, the greater his power.

3. The land would belong to none, the nation would be the corporate freeholder ; the first national consideration would be : How much labour, machinery, stock, etc., is required to gain from the soil enough to feed our population, and how much more, in addition to mineral wealth, do we need to produce to exchange for wealth we cannot acquire here, if foreign markets

for our manufactures do not suffice to gain what we want?

4. The manufacture of wealth, of commodities, would be estimated on what is required for general use at home in the first place; next, what excess is needed for international exchange according to the demand? At present we produce haphazard, distribute anyhow.

5. The means of exchange, transport, and distribution would be worked to confer benefit upon all, not to make dividends for shareholders and profits in business.

6. Reward for labour would ultimately be equal for all, on the principle that the true measure of a man's desert is what he gives, not what he makes. Not that any but querists affected with moral strabismus could plead that claim now,* for those who give most in labour-energy are the poorest, and those who hold prerogatives and bonds upon industry take everything and give nothing. If a man produces more through physical superiority that is a natural gift, he did not create this superior labour-power. What right has he to use it to other people's disadvantage? If he be cleverer he did not create this higher social value in himself, previous society did so, to its heirs he repays the debt if claiming no extra reward. If he be more highly educated this is likewise owed to previous social forces. If he choose to work longer than the public request him to work, that is his own outlook. If a company now hire a man to do nine hours' work a day and he wants to work twelve, they are considered justified in refusing him that request except they think fit, if the extra work of a few would disorganise the ordinary labour of many. No, the true measure is, What does a man spend of himself; what does he give of his labour-energy and life-power? One man, twice as strong as another, producing twice as much, gives no more of himself—let his reward be the same, if both do their best. In any gang of workmen the skulker is soon known to his fellows. If eight hours' labour in

* The claim to reward a man as to what he makes.

the fields, seven in a store, six in a factory, five at the desk, and four in the mines, take as much out of a man, let the hours of work be likewise ; let each give equally, each will receive alike. In the later stages of Socialism, at least, the reward would be paid in labour tickets, or an equivalent with a fixed unit value, these would be currency in national exchange, and destroyed by the act of use. Since they would only be currency for one year, that of issue, no one could live upon little with the idea of investing, or living idly after a time ; except a man worked he would not eat.

Two of the commonest questions asked relating to Social-Democracy are :—“Under what conditions would the government be administered ; how would labour be organised ?”

Government would be by the adult nation for the whole nation. The phrase “government of the people, by the people, for the people,” to the Conservative or Liberal vested interests classman, means : government of the people, by the people, through us, the men of the classes, for the people, after our vested interests have been duly respected, and our surplus-value levied. They believe in legislative government, we believe in administrative authority ; they believe in parliamentary rule, we believe in plebiscite control of the nation’s labour, land, and wealth.

We look upon the reform of the suffrage and the parliamentary mechanism as merely a necessary means to an end ; the abolition of the House of Commons in its present form is as necessary for the mass welfare as was the disestablishment of autocratic monarchy for the well-being of the classes.

Under the present *regime* it is virtually the Cabinet that rules the nation, for, through the parliamentary rules it can monopolise all the time of the Commons, and no measure has much chance except it be favourably regarded by the Cabinet. When candidates make advanced promises they know very well that they can safely do so, that they will never have the oppor-

tunity of forwarding them in earnest in ninety per cent. of the cases. The real test is to ask a candidate, "Will you persistently vote against your leaders until they earnestly forward this or that measure or reform?"

Under Social-Democracy there will be a House of Representatives, with delegates of the mass nation, and not delegates of the class nation alone, as at present, but their work will be administrative rather than legislative. The local authorities, whether district, commune, county, or nation, according to the area affected, will possess autonomy subject to this central supervising authority; all legislation and administrative acts of general importance will be enacted through the initiative and referendum.* These methods exist at present in Switzerland, saving much time and friction, defending the rights, but not the vested interests, of minorities. The initiative enables a ten per cent. minority to demand that its views be placed before the country; a requisition signed by that proportion of registered voters, and presented to the legislature, commands their attention. The specific question involved is then referred to the nation at large through the referendum. An educated proletariat would settle the question of voting as an incident in a week's duty, the cessation of industry and general unrest now typical of a General Election will not last beyond the time of class struggle and warfare.

In a general national question much trouble could be avoided by machinery whereby every commune could first decide whether the *status quo* should be maintained or not, a certain majority of communes deciding for the former would save further trouble. Under a mass government I presume that the officials corresponding to the Cabinet would be permanently in office for a space of years, until they retired or proved inefficient as administrators. Party in our present sense would be unknown, for there would be no vested interests to bolster up or to try and form.

* See pages 249, 268.

amount of material and intellectual wealth for the general use and welfare.

From the last Census it is possible to work out the numbers that would be found now in every one of these sub-divisions named; under Socialism there would be great re-distribution of labour. At present only about one-third of the workers are direct producers, and about one-third are employed in useless labour in administering to the luxuries and services of the rich, being taken from useful production. This means extra labour to the direct producers and subsidiary workers, since these have still to feed and clothe those employed in socially useless work. Under Socialism, with even only present-day appliances, we estimate that double the present national wealth could be produced for at the most an average day's work of six hours out of the twenty-four. Personally I think that the following method of distributing it would be best: A certain amount for every adult over twenty-one, half that amount for every child under fifteen, two-thirds of that amount for every adolescent between fifteen and twenty-one. The half amount to cover all necessities of life and rational pleasures for childhood.

Knowing the total population, we require to find the number of non-effectives. Given the ratio of those under eighteen to the whole population as known, given the ratio known of those over the pensionable age, given the number permanently disabled, and the sick-rate per annum, including women temporarily disabled and excused from work for some months from maternity, the number of non-effectives is found. All these figures could now be found from the Census returns. We would find, if the pensionable age were sixty, with the same adult annual income going on as before, that these total non-effectives would number about 18,000,000 out of 39,000,000. The difference of 21,000,000 would have to administer to the whole population.

From the latter number would be subtracted those in the

department of Household Affairs, the greatest sub-division of which would be those in the division of Domestic Service. Under Socialism household labour would be much enlightened through mutual co-operation between households; a married woman without children, if with only an effective husband to attend to, would be expected either to assist in the domestic duties of the district or conjoint household, or perform some other labour. According to the number of children a woman had she would be excused labour altogether, excepting in her own family, or conjointly with others if she preferred, and if above a certain number could claim permanent assistance. The numbers in domestic service, and in the medical and scholastic departments, would be fixed according to the needs of the country, those under the heading of artistes according to the will of the people, for the more relegated to this division the greater the number not producing material wealth. Within a certain limit every commune could devote certain of its members to this latter class, given its contribution of wealth for national purposes fixed, it could extend its hours of labour to provide for these artistes of local utility. To provide for some dozen extra would mean perhaps an average for every other worker of a few hours more work a year. Under this scheme this department (of Household Affairs) would probably number about 8,000,000 in all. Some 13,000,000 would be left to produce wealth, manufacture, distribute, and transport it, the first consideration being as to the number required for the department of Land. In this division we would probably find about 6,000,000; * in that of Manufactures about 5,000,000; and the other two millions divided between Transport and Distribution.

In some such way as this would Labour be administered by itself for the common welfare, for the commonwealth.

The next question is that of how would Labour be organised. It will be necessary to start with the training of the

* The present number is less than half of this.

child, the future worker. Under Social-Democracy before its birth it would possess a proper chance of being well-born ; to our shame, in our factory and other labour regulations we have no rules whereby a working woman at operative labour obtains the necessary month's rest before and after child-birth. Under Socialism no child would be born of inferior vitality because its mother was insufficiently fed before its birth, no child need be born fretful and irritable because its mother had been viewing its advent with anxiety as one more to be fed and clothed, no child would be born of inferior physique because its mother has needed rest from domestic labour, for the doctor's certificate could requisition a helper at any time he thought fit. And after birth, if he thought fit to administer special foodstuffs, he could also obtain them as required. For example, I know a most healthy child that would have died in early infancy excepting its parents had been able to afford some eight shillings a week for its support alone. At this present time thirty per cent. of our families have less than twenty-one shillings a week wage, and many not more than fourteen.

Schooling and technical training for future work, being for the future public service, would be free. As soon as the child was old enough the kindergarten school would be open to it, after that the primary school. Under Socialism the first object would be to lead up the child to become a capable citizen, not to train it to become an unthinking machine in the future, that being the ideal of a wage-slave, who is perforce merely a money earning creature in the present day. At the age of fifteen primary education would cease, it would then come under secondary schooling. By this time some bent in the child's disposition should be apparent ; if it were not, ordinary education could be continued, and at eighteen the boy could enter occupation that requires no special training, a girl could always be educated for household work. But in the case of the ordinary child it would continue until eighteen under general

education for half the day, with an elementary study of such subjects of universal application as botany, chemistry, and physiology. The other half of the day would be devoted to technical training for some craft or occupation ; where an exact calling could not be decided upon, a decision might easily be made in favour of one division, leaving the ultimate decision until eighteen, as for either the building trades, or for medicine, or for engineering. At eighteen a final decision could be arrived at, and the boy or girl commence their tertiary or apprenticeship education. In the case of scholastic, medical, and artistic divisions this would mean either university or special collegial training ; ministers of the churches or those training for such would be found within the scholastic division.

The subject of religious training or a ministerial sub-department will always have to depend upon the general ideas on such subjects ; it will be the duty of the mass State to see that all are allowed to act as they like in such matters, subject to the national rights being preserved, and national duties being fulfilled. With the shorter hours of labour and almost total absence of organising ministerial labour any man devoted to religion could find time after he had rendered to the State his service to render to God what services he thought requisite from himself and his co-religionists. Religious training would be a matter for the home, and those the parents cared to delegate it to. If the State thought fit (and religionists would form an overwhelming majority in it), in each religion, in ratio to numbers observing it, a certain number of men would be allowed to be ministers alone, as in such case the burden of their non-efficiency would fall upon all alike.

At twenty-one the adolescent would enter the ranks of the adults and become attached as a unit to a labour regiment in some commune, assigned to some district and workshop. Mr. Herbert Spencer would designate this as coming slavery, but I venture to think from personal knowledge of what high-

pressure labour and the difficulty to obtain even a change in the locality of occupation, much less a change of occupation, really is, that nine-tenths of our nation would take this slavery to be a delightful change.

Let us balance the accounts.

Under Possessionalism.—One-third of the nation without sufficient rest, food, or shelter. Nine-tenths anxious to obtain or keep their employment, custom, or credit, never knowing when they may lose their livelihood. One-tenth actual or virtual paupers. One-half with not a week between them, the workhouse, or absolute indigency, if employment or health fail. Some 150,000 deaths annually due to high-pressure labour, anxiety, and vitiated vitality. A submerged tenth. An unemployed fringe from one to ten per cent. of our manhood. Children dying slowly from want and from poisoned slums, morally dead from want of parental training, commercialism making their parents brutalised and vicious. The fear of sickness and death constantly before the married men, the certainty of the workhouse or slow starvation at home before the aged in a large minority of cases.

Under Socialism.—Home life secure, the annual income the same in sickness and old age; the death of the breadwinner making no difference to the incomes of wife or child. Education safe, and—education. Labour secure, of reasonable hours and of personal interest, exchange with others of the same calling in other districts always allowable, time to work and qualify for other labour if this be disagreeable. Annual holiday; a voice equal with any other adult in the State; promotion from efficiency always in front. Instead of toil, anxiety, and unceasing struggle, under Social-Democracy there would be work, certainty, and leisure to enjoy this wonderful world aright. The scribes and speakers of possessionalism, who ignore this ever growing cry for leisure from the proletariat, are as blind leaders as ever led the blind, and altogether miss the vastness

and depth of the new spirit of the insurgency of industry and the revolt of labour.

In the organisation of labour there always arises the question: If all men had equal power, who would do the dirty work? None are more troubled by this idea than those who do the dirty and often almost criminous work of the Stock Exchange, the House of Commons, of the Press, and of other branches of the great guild of skilled liars.* Not that by any means the majorities of these institutions are such. Is there any reason why each man should not always, or at some special period of his life, do his own dirty work, or do a special share for others for a short time? In all the occupations that are disagreeable the recruits for the first year or two could do the special drudgery, perhaps with shorter hours of work as a reward; this is what happens now in all occupations, excepting that the newcomer often works longer hours as well. Let us just take the example of two divisions of employment to glance at, to understand the possible system of regimentation of labour. In the building trades we find the following occupations: architects, builders, masons, bricklayers, slaters, tilers, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, whitewashers, paperhanglers, plumbers, painters, and glaziers. With but little range of training certain of these forms of work are easily interchangeable, especially if a common technical training were adopted in the secondary schools and in the apprentice or cadency corps when possible. According to the exigencies of any one commune, the needs of labour would be, to a certain extent, readjustable and capable of remedy. Given this common technical schooling, if a man proved an indifferent mason but a fair carpenter, he could be exchanged as to his regiment, now he cannot do anything but remain an indifferent workman at a trade which has become

* See note, page 271.—It is the half truth that is the worst lie. Confer the ordinary speculative stock-exchange prospectus for speculation, the promises of Parliamentary candidates, and the suppression of the other side by the Press.

perhaps irksome and perfunctory. A man who turned out to be a poor plumber, granted capacity, could become a good architect, and so on.

Let us now take the medical profession and all its subsidiary branches. A young man or woman at the age of eighteen would enter the cadency corps for this department, studying at first all subjects equally useful to medical attendant or doctor, to the apothecary, the chemist, the inspector of nuisances, and other sanitary officials, the nurse, the dentist, and the veterinary surgeon. After a year or two, individual inclination would manifest itself, and special training could again be formulated as required. At the age of twenty-one, or as soon after as qualified, a man or woman would be able to work under supervision in any of these callings, except that of the practice of medicine proper, interchange could after take place if necessary, and in emergency anyone in any of these callings could, to a certain extent, give assistance, either alone or to one properly qualified. Many a doctor of average capacity could make an excellent chemist, or nurse, or sanitary official; many working now in these latter ways indifferently, might make a better doctor. But once a man chooses his work now he can rarely afford to start again if he prove unfitted for it. The person wishing to become a medical practitioner would commence the special training at twenty-one, and once qualified could choose his special form of work, whether general or special hospital, general practitioner, medical officer of health, or some special branch of research, of medicine, or surgery. If he or she found that they had mistaken their special form of practice, exchange would be easily arranged. It follows that many more than there were posts for might aim in any occupation at filling the more important positions, more important only in gradation of service rendered, and not in pay; those best fitted would naturally only be chosen from either the cadency corps or from subsidiary branches in any sub-department.

The organisation of labour would always have two aspects in view, local needs and national requirements. By no means would it be needful for every occupation to be represented in great force in every commune, nor even in every county ; if it suited national requirements better certain trades, especially those concerned in exports, could be massed into special municipal centres as now, still the object would be to make each commune as self-supporting as possible. But a wide diffusion of trades in village settlements would soon take place, for transport being nationalised, would not need to be much considered. Within our islands we have enough water power to work the greater bulk of our machinery, for the tidal estuaries are available, as well as the rivers. Many disagreeable occupations will almost cease, owing to scientific government and bettered appliances of production. Water driven electrical machinery will do away with gas stoking, electrolysed water will fuse metals for forging, coal-mining may gradually cease, and the factories will be scattered over the land.

Administrative areas and regimental districts would rarely be coincident, excepting perhaps in the case of specially massed trades. The administrative unit would be the commune under a mayor and a deputy-mayor, subdivided in the country into districts, in the towns into wards, each under their alderman and his deputy. Elected councillors would assist when required in the district, ward, or commune. The communes would be grouped into counties under a sheriff and his deputies for all affairs affecting them alike ; above these again would be the national council for national affairs under a Premier, who would *ex-officio* belong to the Imperial House as well. Above all would be the Imperial House with its representatives from every colony that cared to send them ; this would foreshadow an inter-national federation, impossible except under Socialism.

As regards the trade organisations in their regimentation,

their districts would be arranged according to the numbers in any one branch of labour capable of being organised and officered by certain necessary officials. In some occupations one factory might even employ a regiment, in other occupations a labour regiment might be scattered over many counties. There would be the section of some twenty-five men under a serjeant-foreman, and one or more deputy-foremen under him, a company of several scores under a captain and a subaltern, a regiment of several companies under a commander and adjutants under him. Regiments would receive trade instructions from their head-quarters department. An official would be necessary to co-ordinate allied trades in any given district, he could be called a corps commander,—every county would require at least one to control the agricultural occupations, every great town would need at least one for the building trades and one for Domestic Service.

The burden of labour would fall much more lightly than now upon women, the hardest worked of all workers. Much labour, as laundry work and cooking, would be relegated to the village laundry or kitchen, or to the same offices in suitably arranged districts in a town ; if women were too individualistic to act thus they could take the consequences in more work than really requisite ; such conduct would not excuse them from contributing their quota of labour to these or other services. Twenty women now performing domestic labour in twenty separate houses working on an average twelve hours a day could do the same work on communal lines in six hours with much less waste and expense. Leaving out ill-health, only child-rearing would excuse a woman from her share of general labour ; given more than a certain number of children she could claim assistance from the local centre for domestic service ; if a sister, or friend, or relative was available and cared to assist, so much the better. The fact of all incomes being the same in amount, the items of expenditure naturally being at the

pleasure of the recipient, would prevent much of the terrible aloofness and individualistic feeling of to-day, where almost everyone pretends to be better off than they are.

Is it possible to forecast the speech of the Chief Magistrate of a Social-Democratic State at the annual reopening of the House of Representatives, say in 2000 A.D.?

Most hirelings of the present vested interest or class state *regime* will probably smile at the above date, but not so will any student of present-day social science.

Those who have studied social history know well that never does the power of a dominant class appear more firmly rooted and stronger than just before the period of revolutionary change. To take some recent examples in history.

In 1685 the Protestant revolt under Monmouth, as also that in Scotland under the Earl of Argyle, were crushed out with effectual cruelty; in 1688 William of Holland succeeds with practically no loss of life.

French feudalism was law until August 4th, 1789; where was it soon after?

The landed franchise was supreme in Britain until 1832, the year before the peers defied the common folk, confident of victory.

In 1881-2 the Irish agrarian agitation seemed hopeless, both English political parties being opposed to it; within a few years the Irish Land Acts were passed, being a commencement towards present impending change.

In Germany in 1870 there were not 200,000 Socialist voters, now they number over 3,000,000; at the same rate of increase as recently, they will number over half of the German nation in another fifteen years.

The rapidity with which Japan emerged from an obsolete feudalism, to become an administration courted by Western Europe and equally feared by it commercially before long, is also proof of the "law" to be now enunciated.

It is:—*A revolutionary change, to be successful, needs to be preceded by periods of growth or unseen forces acting on definite lines of evolution; the climax in such a case is as definite as it is sudden and stable.*

In human aggregations the period of growth is at least five generations; conduct becomes fixed in the fifth, i.e., certain lines of action become instinctive, if environment remains in equilibrium.

In the human unit the change is mental, marked by the year or two usually separating the adolescent from the virile mind.

In the animal kingdom the law is seen in action in the few weeks or months of gestation giving birth to a new specific form, the result of altered environment for generations having accumulated to this effect in the creature's immediate parentage.

This principle is exemplified in the vegetal kingdom in the period during which the sap flows unseen, causing chemico-vital changes in the bark, the unexpanded leaf buds and flower stalks, the critical change to leafage and blossom being often a matter of two or three weeks only.

In the inorganic world we see this law operate when crystals precipitate from a solution of themselves in water by the addition of one grain more, the point of hyper-saturation having been reached.

We may be sure that the Speech under Social-Democracy, if it referred to war, would be to one waged against the international financial gang instead of to one from which they alone will gain;* if to education, not to one meant to give further

* Certain terms as gang, hireling, etc., have not been used in this book as mere abuse; such is the force of established custom in thought and usage of words that a shock has to be conveyed to the capable unthinking brain by some strong expression before it will question whether some new truth is before it or not.

GENERAL NOTE.—The Liberal or Radical I am opposed to is the man who wishes to obtain certain rights simply because he does not possess them himself, not for the sake of the community; in the other class, I have, and always hope to have, many very good friends.

dominance to one vested interest, that of ecclesiasticism ; if to taxation, not to indirect forms of insidious incidence on the poor, the helpless, and the weak.

It is certain it would refer to the organisation of labour, to the established pensionable age, to the total wealth required to be produced in the ensuing year by the nation for the use of the community, and to the annual assembly of the delegates of the federated States of Social-Democracy.

CHAPTER XII. DEFINITIONS AND TABLES.

Tables—Material and Social “forms.” Human genera. Attributes of mentality and their relationships. Stages of Human Progressence—Distribution of the human genera in the above stages—Relative importance of the various classes in each stage—Chief characteristics of each stage. Evolution of the higher states—Form of authoritative classes in each stage. Analogues of Disease. Comparison of the Nervous System and the Dominant Class in the State. Forms of Land Tenure. Evolution of the Chief of the State. Stages of Organised Growth. Our National Wealth. Present-day State Departments and Ministries—State Departments under Social-Democracy. Varieties of Slavery. Various Archæological Ages of Man. Capital. Some definitions. Archæological authorities. Ancient slave inscription—comments.

In reality we are but on the threshold of civilisation.—*Sir John Lubbock.*

I spoke as I saw,
I report, as a man may of God's work—all's Love, yet all's Law.
Now I lay down the judgeship He lent me. Each faculty tasked,
To perceive Him, has gained an abyss where a dewdrop was asked.

—Browning.

TABLE I.—MATERIAL AND SOCIAL “FORMS” IN EVER-INCREASING COMPLEXITY.

DIVISION IN UNIVERSE.	VARIETY OF FORM.	CREATIONAL PRINCIPLE.
Sub-natural ..	Ether sub-atoms .. .	Unknown.
Inorganic ..	1. Atom 2. Molecules (note the ordered gradation of the elements) 3. Amorphous compounds 4. Crystalline do. 5. Lifeless organic do.* 1. Protoplasmic cell	Formalising energy.
Kingdom of Life	2. Tissue 3. Organ 4. Animal form 1. Human being 2. Family group 3. Tribal do. 4. National do. 5. International aggregation	Life.
Kingdom of Man	Spiritual form .. .	Humanity (Spirituality).
Super-natural ..		Unknown.

* Certain complex molecular aggregations, formerly derived only from living tissues, are now produced by synthesis, hence need for this apparently contradictory description.

TABLE II.—HUMAN GENERA.

GENUS.	CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC OF THE UNIT.	SOCIAL FORMS IT PRE-DOMINATES IN.
Puerile ..	Receptive, domineered by environment.	Lower and Higher Savagery, Lower Barbarism.
Adolescent ..	Competitive, struggling against environment.	Higher Barbarism, Lower and Higher Possessionism.
Virile ..	Co-operative, mastering environment.	Lower and Higher Socialism.

Generic differences in man depend upon intellectual form or growth, upon the spirituality (Humanity) manifested; specific differences upon material environment, with racial characteristics manifested accordingly.

Under the influence of diseased humanity, of disordered spirituality, a higher genus always enslaves a lower one when able to do so, and compels it to labour for its special benefit and purposes alone. Formerly the blood-bond consolidated mankind into warring aggregations, now it is vested-interests of allied varieties that form the class bond and divide the higher races into conflicting aggregations of men.

Will determines intellectual growth, environment the growth of brute mentality.

TABLE III.—ATTRIBUTES OF MENTALITY AND THEIR RELATIONSHIPS.

The lowest protoplasmic unit possesses consciousness and perception in actual use, the higher attributes are present in potentiality ready to be developed when the necessary complexity in form is reached.

Lowest Life Forms	{ Consciousness Perception }				Puerile Brute Mentality.
Lower Organised Creatures . . .	do.	Memory.	Will.		Adolescent do.
Higher Animals . .	do.	do.	do.	Reason.	Mature do.
Man	do.	do.	do.	do.	*Intellectuality (Ideality).
					Human Mentality.

* We understand by "intellectuality" all the higher and greater attributes observed in human mentality that differentiates it from brute mentality. We do not understand it to be an added entity, but consider it to be due to spiritual attributes manifesting themselves always, most imperfectly at the best, through the material form.

TABLE IV.—STAGES OF HUMAN PROGRESSIVENESS.

STAGE.	FORM OF SOCIAL AGGREGATION.	FORM OF AUTHORITY OR OF "THE STATE."
Lower Savagery ..	Communistic family.	{ The best or fittest animal man.
Higher do. ..	Normal family.	Patristic.
Lower Barbarism ..	The clan.	One ruling family.
Higher do. ..	The tribe.	One ruling clan.
*Lower Possession-alism.	The nation.	One ruling class.
Higher do. {	The allied kingdom or Federated States.	Rule by combined slaver-classes.
Lower Socialism {	Federated democracies of same stock.	Mass authority of incomplete growth.
Higher do. {	International Federation.	} Virile mass rule.

* By this time the blood-bond is broken up; one tribe originally imposed its rule upon others, but union through the possession of similar interests soon caused class rule to supersede dominance by one conquering tribe.

There is marked overlapping usually in any country in the course of progress through these stages, there being no definite line of demarcation in most cases. In any one stage are to be found aggregations surviving from the past, and embryonic forms of the next stage as well. Thus, in the reign of James I., we find Higher Possessionalism with a dominant feudal class ruling it, and with embryonic Socialism in the shape of the earliest poor-laws.

TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE HUMAN GENERA IN THE STAGES OF PROGRESSIONE.

STAGE.	GENUS.		
	VIRILE.	ADOLESCENT.	PUERILE.
Lower Savagery ..	—	—	All.
Higher do. ..	—	—	All.
Lower Barbarism	—	The ruling family.	The rest.
Higher do. ..	The ruling family.	A large minority.	The majority.
Lower Possession-alism.	The ruling caste.	Majority.	Minority.
Higher do. ..	Large minority.	Majority.	Small minority.
Lower Socialism ..	Majority.	Minority.	"Survivals."
Higher do. ..	All.	—	—

The virile genus in any land has always determined the form of authority, it has always been "the State."

TABLE VI.—RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE VARIOUS CLASSES IN EACH STAGE.

Note: The sizes of the O's indicate the relative importance.

STAGE.	CO-ORDINATING CHIEFTAIN.	MILITARY CLASSES.	TRADING AND INTELLECTUAL.	MANUAL LABOUR.
Savagery ..	O	No differentiation in		labour.
Lower Barbarism ..	O	O	O	
Higher do. ..	O	O	O	
Lower Possession-alism.	O	O	O	O
Higher do. ..	O	O	O	O
Lower Socialism ..	o	o	O	O
Higher do. ..	o	o		O

TABLE VII.—CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS IN EACH STAGE OF HUMAN EVOLUTION.

STAGE.	CLOTHING.	FOOD.	SHELTER.	MARRIAGE.	LAW.	CHIEF OF STATE.	GENUS OF UNITS.
Lower Savagery	Where used, skins of animals.	Wild creatures and fruitstuffs.	Caves and wind shelters.	Communal.	Club law.	The strongest.	Puerile.
				Temporary.	Custom.	The patriarch.	Puerile.
Higher Barbarism	Skins, superseded by wool and cloth.	Grain, wild and domestic creatures.	Huts.	Slave-wife unions.	Female descent law, customary.	The best soldier of chieftain-caste.	Mostly puerile.
			Cottages.	Purchase with contract.	Customary, with male descent.	do.	do.
Lower Possession-alism.	Woollen and cloth.	Cereals, domestic stock, and vegetables.	Cottages.	*Contract, compulsorily as regards female.	Statute-book enactments.	Usually hereditary king.	Mostly adolescent.
			Stone buildings.		Do., plus police.	Elected chief.	do.
Higher Possession-alism.				do.	Mutual contract, equality to both parties	Administrative law through plebiscites.	do.
						Mostly virile.	
Socialism							

* That duress in entering upon the marriage contract is absent is a legal fiction. Until very recently the parents' wishes were supreme as regards the woman; her economical dependence makes her devoid of actual freedom after marriage, especially as her children are concerned and dependent too.

TABLE VIII.—EVOLUTION OF THE HIGHER STATES.

SHOWING HOW THE SOCIAL FORM ALTERS ACCORDING TO THE VITALITY OF CONSTITUENT CLASSES.

VARIETY OF STATE.	MILITARY, OR FREE AND LANDED CLASSES.	GREATER COMMERCIALS.	LESSER COMMERCIALS.	LANDLESS MANUAL WORKERS.
Aristocratic	, ,	, ,	, ,	,
Plutocratic	, ,	, ,	, ,	,
Pseudo-Democratic	, ,	, ,	, ,	,
Social-Democratic	, ,	, ,	, ,	,

In this table the term commercial denotes all middle-class persons. The class or classes to the left of the line running down and across the table are those that administer the State, they are the State of the time being, in fact. The class or classes to the right of the same line represent those that are excluded, because they have not willed their admission. Under Social-Democracy the class differences vanish.

TABLE IX.—FORM OF AUTHORITATIVE CLASSES IN EACH STAGE OF HUMAN PROGRESSENCE.

STAGE.	AUTHORITY.	SYNONYMS.
Savagery	Patristic.	—
Lower Barbarism ..	One dominant family.	Clan or gentile domination.
Higher do. ..	Aristocratic.	Timocratic, Feudalist or military caste rule.
Lower Possessionalism	Oligarchic.	Commercialist or Plutocratic.
Higher do. ..	Pseudo-democratic.	Slaver-caste rule, <i>i.e.</i> , present day Parliamentarianism.
Lower Socialism ..	A socialising Democracy.	Mass-rule.
Higher do. ..	Social-Democracy.	—

Obedience to authority is an unconscious process to most minds, hence the dominant class in any one stage lasts in form well into the next, for it requires time for the classes who are giving the form of the then national life to the aggregate concerned to awake to the consciousness that they are fitted for the power conferred by enfranchisement. For example: Commercial England was vital in deeds by the time of Henry VIII., but feudal rule lasted until Charles I.

TABLE X.—ANALOGUES OF DISEASE.

Equivalent processes underlie health and disease in the animal form, in the human or intellectual form, and in social aggregations of men.

Health, wholeness, or holiness consists in there being full harmony and perfect rhythm between any one unit, whether corporeal, intellectual, or social, and the world external thereto; in there being perfect correspondence between outer or extrinsic and inner or intrinsic relationships of any unit in question and the rest of the universe.

Illth, crime, and sin consist in want of harmony and rhythm between external and internal relationship. Since the tendency in nature is always towards higher and more complex forms, towards progressence, we find that slight disharmonical relationships right themselves, this fact underlying all specific and generic evolution. Granted the least will to improve environment, the natural course of disease is towards recovery.

Tissue integrity depends upon the continuation of proper correspondences with the outer world through the vascular and nervous systems, mental integrity upon such conduct as regards the attributes of human mentality, social integrity upon such conduct as regards the functions and duties of social life.

CAUSE OF CHANGE.	IN PHYSICAL ORGANISM.	IN MENTALITY.	IN SOCIAL AGGREGATE.
1. If correspondences diminish ...	Anaemic atrophy.	Melancholia.	Social inertia.
2. If re-established soon ...	Normal status.	Mental integrity.	Progressence.
3. If correspondences be excessive ...	Hyperaemia.	Egoistical excitability.	Excessive autocracy of dominant classes.
4. If correspondences be re-established ...	Resolution.	Recovery.	Return to constitution-alism of then stage.
5. If total breakdown of correspondences after hyperaemia	Abscess, or tissue break-up.	Mania, or mind break-up.	Revolt of servile classes and break-up of the dominant class.
6. If internal relations overmaster the external and domineer them	Hyperplasia or hypersarcoma.	Egoistical madness.	Irresponsible or autocratic tyrannies.
7. If after a time there be orderly withdrawal of external relations or like failure of internal relations	Anaemic atrophy.	Melancholia.	Social inertia.
8. If disordered correspondences remain there is after a certain time reversion to perverted and useless forms	Parasitic cancerous growths.	Delusional or illusional insanity.	Parasitic class rule, social functions being deputed to others.

TABLE XI.—COMPARISON OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM
AND THE DOMINANT CLASS IN THE STATE.

Cell equals a worker.

Tissues equal classes of workers.

Organs equal departments of labour.

A body equals an organised State.

In natural economy there are in health no idler cells, tissues, or organs, but we find certain pensioned classes or departments represented by such organs as the thyroid, thymus, and pituitary bodies, also by the generative system after a certain time.

In a perfectly harmonious organism: All cells derive equal vitality from the corporate life, being all equally active in function and asserting their individuality (being enfranchised and using their power); all derive equal beneficence from and grant equal service to the corporate existence. Equal means relative sameness in regard to strength, needs, and possibilities.

FORM OF AUTHORITY.		MODE AND CONSTITUENTS OF UNIT AND CLASS MENTALITY.
OF NERVOUS SYSTEM.	OF DOMINANT CLASS.	
I. The irritable wilfulness of puerility.	Irresponsible autocracy.	Sensual reasoning, chiefly through consciousness and perception alone.
II. The selfish and excessive correspondences of adolescence	Slaver-caste dominance for profit through class delegation — competitive life.	Deductive reasoning, memory and will being most prominent, reason only forming.
III. Harmonious action and re-action due to self-coördination	Mass administration, all labouring, all controlling — co-operative life.	Inductive reasoning, reason having matured, humanity guiding.

TABLE XII.—FORMS OF LAND TENURE.

This is only roughly meant to indicate the phases through which ownership of land has passed; history shows that economical independence has alone belonged to those controlling directly or indirectly the production of wealth from its only source, from the mother earth.

I. Usal occupation of Savagery.

II. Corporate family tenure in clan civilisation first, in the earliest stage land being owned, tilled, and its products enjoyed in common.

III. Family tenure, tillage in common, use each from his special portion.

IV. Family tenure, tillage of each division (such being subject usually to annual allotment), being by individual effort of the special occupier, he enjoying all the products.

The family bond breaks up, the locality bond takes its place, possession of a house now confers right to land, at first under the last-mentioned form under corporate village tenure.

V. Next, house and its formerly appertaining land need not be held in common, although both remain still corporate property, the land usually so the longest.

VI. Absolute individual tenure, for profit mostly in the present day, rarely for personal use.

TABLE XIII.—EVOLUTION OF THE CHIEF OF THE STATE.

In any one stage of evolution the rule is that such office is at first:—

I.—ELECTIVE.

II.—HEREDITARY.

Normal evolution.

Abnormal evolution.

Atrophy of authority and succession of next stage, often peacefully.

Confer deposition of last Emperor of the Brazils. But if the Chief of State be vitally strong, whilst the dominant class is deposed owing to its feebleness, he may still remain Head of the State under the next stage of progressence. *Confer* feudal and commercial Japan under the same Emperor.

Armed revolution may determine change, but if the classes rebelling are capable of self-government the change is orderly.

I.—Hyperplastic autocracy.

II.—Ochlocracy (mob rule).

III.—Elective tyrant, known as Emperor, President, or Dictator.

IV.—Hereditary or autocratic tyrant.

V.—Ochlocracy again, and so on, or succession of next stage as soon as the new vital classes assert themselves.

Conquest may at any time step in and alter the course of either normal or abnormal events, but the chief of the new stage or state holds originally under above conditions.

Normal evolution occurs when dwindling action of the dominant family or caste is compensated for by harmoniously growing action on the part of the ruled.

TABLE XIV.—STAGES OF ORGANISED GROWTH.

Equivalent changes, caused by analogous widening of correspondences with the rest of the world, cause equivalent stages of progress in each of the following units, preparing each for entering upon higher functions in its mature state.

STAGE.	CELL.	TISSUE.	ORGAN.	HUMAN UNIT.	AGGREGATION OF UNITS, EVOLUTION ABNORMAL THROUGH SLAVE-BLOOD.	
					Chief Characteristics.	Dominant Feature if in Power.
Embryonic ...	Structureless homogeneous protoplasm.	Homogeneous mass of similar cells in contact.	Dissimilar masses of similar cells with arterioles between.	The puerile.	Is puerilely individualistic. Chiefly corresponds to obtain what it can, with but little mutual coherence.	Monopolist and autocratic existence.
Immature ...	Cells undergoing karyokinesis.	Between above cells inter-cellular vascular spaces occur.	Above mass of tissue is permeated by blood-vessels.	The adolescent.	Begins to develop purposeful action, and re-acts more fully to external relations, having developed some amount of mutuality.	Mutuality in the exercise of political or civil power, in other ways legislative and competitive.
Mature ...	Nucleated protoplasm.	Immature cerebro-spinal influence begins co-ordination.	Organs as above are co-ordinated by the sympathetic system.	The virile.	Begins to act with harmonious inter-relationships for all mutual purposes, hence it is stronger by far than before.	Mutuality in obtaining economic freedom for themselves to better enslave others, forms as socialised rings, pools, syndicates, etc.

TABLE XV.—OUR NATIONAL WEALTH.
THE ESTIMATED VALUE.

In December, 1889, Sir Robert Giffen attempted to compute the capital value of realised property in the United Kingdom as it was in the year 1885.* The following table is reproduced from that furnished by him, the figures being corrected according to the official Returns of Income-Tax Assessments for 1894-95.† The estimate of the value of the capital is arrived at by taking what Sir R. Giffen considered a suitable number of years' purchase of the income:—

	GROSS ANN. VALUE OF PROPERTY ASSESSED.	NO. OF YEARS' PUR- CHASE	CAPITAL VALUE.
Under : Schedule A—			
Lands, rent-charges, tithes, etc.	£56,582,020	26	£1,471,132,520
Land with houses on it ...	149,625,984	15	2,244,389,760
Other profits from land ...	533,881	30	16,016,430
Schedule B—			
Farmers' Profits	56,052,720	8	448,421,760§
Schedule C—			
Interest from Public Govern- ment Funds, <i>not English</i> ‡ ...	24,078,105	25	601,952,625
Schedule D—			
Quarries, mines, ironworks, etc.	15,197,071	4	60,788,284§
Gas Works	4,770,885	25	119,272,125§
Water Works	3,808,179	20	76,163,580§
Canals, etc.	3,493,590	20	69,871,800§
Fishings and shootings ...	732,598	20	14,651,960§
Markets, tolls, etc.	626,349	20	12,726,980§
Salt Springs or Works and Alum Works	262,779	20	5,255,580§
Cemeteries	67,385	20	1,347,700§
Public Companies	65,831,141	20	1,316,622,820§
Foreign and Colonial Invest- ments‡	17,158,861	20	343,177,220
Railways in United Kingdom	35,786,668	28	1,002,026,704§
Railways out of do.‡	14,152,214	20	283,044,280
Interest paid out of Local Rates, etc.	6,824,495	25	170,612,375
Other similar profits	1,637,985	20	32,759,700
Trades and Professions(taking one-fifth of the gross in- comes as interest on capital)	36,296,322	15	544,444,830§

TABLE XV.—*continued.*

Trades and Professions omitted from assessment, say 20 per cent. on amount assessed (£181,481,609), taking one-fifth of this income also as interest on capital	7,295,264	15	108,888,960§
Income from capital of non-tax-payers	70,000,000	5	350,000,000||§
Foreign Investments, not included under Schedules C and D†	50,000,000	10	500,000,000
Movables, not yielding income			1,000,000,000||
Government and Local Public Property, say			600,000,000||
Total estimated capital value ...			£11,393,567,993¶

* See "The Growth of Capital," by Robert Giffen (London: Bell and Sons, 1889). Also "Essays in Finance," 2 vols., by the same author.

† Thirty-eighth Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, C—7854, 1895; price 6d. The amount stated as annual farmers' profits appears to be excessive, as Mr. Giffen overlooked the fact that the Income Tax Acts assume the net profits of agriculture (in England) to be equal to one-half the rent, not the whole as here given. The number of years' purchase of rural land may also be regarded as too high. On the other hand, that of urban properties is much understated. But these considerations do not materially affect the aggregate total, and Mr. Giffen's basis has therefore been throughout maintained.

‡ These claims constitute part of the social question of other nations than our own. The amount in the last case is conjectural only, and is the same as that given by Mr. Giffen in his estimate for 1885.

|| These amounts being conjectural only, are reproduced from Mr. Giffen's estimate in 1885, with small additions, amounting in all to £155,000,000, on the capital value.

§ Of these totals which make up the "industrial capital" of the country, amounting to £4,130,483,083, at least £2,020,417,190 is under joint stock management, £1,035,029,835 being the paid-up capital of the 18,361 registered companies carrying on business in April, 1894, and £985,387,355 being the paid-up capital of the railways in the United Kingdom at the end of 1894. See the Annual Statistical Abstract, forty-second number, C—7875, 1895; price 1s. To this must be added the capital administered by chartered banks and trading companies, not registered under the Companies Acts.

¶ It is interesting to compare this total for 1895 with those arrived at in previous years, which were based on similar statistics and calculated on the same methods as now used. The total thus estimated by Mr. Giffen in 1865, was £6,114,063,000; in 1875, £8,548,120,000; and in 1885, £10,079,579,000; while the total now given is £11,393,567,993. The increase in realized wealth in thirty years may, therefore, safely be estimated at over five thousand millions sterling, or an average of 175 millions a year. The average annual increase has been at the rate of 2½ per cent., or more than twice the rate of increase of the population.

The above is taken from Fabian Tract No. 7, *Capital and Land*. All the tracts of this Society, mostly costing 1d. each, can be obtained from the Society's Office, 276, Strand, W.C. Without the study of these no one can expect to be up-to-date as regards social facts.

From this same table we can estimate class income as well. *Rent*, or amount paid by labour to idleness for leave to work, is found by adding the totals under Schedule A, and under Schedule D from Quarries to Cemeteries. The total amount is over £230,000,000.

Interest, Dividend, and Profit, also idler income, is found to come to £280,000,000.* Of this amount over £105,000,000 is paid by foreign labour to British capitalists.

Earned middle-class income, "rent of ability," comes to over £410,000,000.

Sir R. Giffen estimates the total annual income to be at least £1,450,000,000. This leaves to "*manual labour*" the sum of £530,000,000.

The more recent Fabian Tract, No. 5 of 1899, gives the figures quoted now. The increases in the classes' incomes are due to more accurate data founded upon income-tax assessments up-to-date; the increased mass income does not take cognisance of out-of-work spells.

Rent.....	£275,000,000
Interest	340,000,000
Profits and Salaries	435,000,000
 Total (that is the income of the legal proprietors of the three natural monopolies of land, capital and ability)	1,050,000,000
Income of manual labour-class.....	650,000,000
 Total produce.....	£1,700,000,000

* Profit in this sense is not used to denote the difference between gross receipts in a business and working expenses. It represents the sum found after working expenses, ordinary interest, according to risk on capital employed, and, if the owner of the business works himself at it, a remuneration or salary he would receive in the ordinary market, have been found.

PRESENT-DAY STATE DEPARTMENTS.

The following lists, one of the Ministry of the last Liberal Administration and one of the Conservative Cabinet of 1900, show the relative importance of various State departments under Possessionalist governments; the absence of many important industrial occupations from direct cognisance of those in authority speaks volumes for our competitive *regime*.

The fourth Ministry of Mr. Gladstone, being the Liberal Government of 1893:—

Wm. Ewart Gladstone	Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Herschell	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Kimberley	Lord President of Council.
Sir William Vernon-Harcourt	{ Sec. of State Indian Dept.
Herbert Henry Asquith, Q.C....	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Rosebery	Sec. of State Home Dept.
Marquis of Ripon	Sec. of State Foreign Dept.
Henry Campbell-Bannerman ...	Sec. of State Colonial Dept.
Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart.	Sec. of State War Dept.
Earl Spencer	Secretary for Scotland.
John Morley	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Arnold Morley	Chief Secretary for Ireland
Anthony John Mundella	Postmaster-General.
Henry Hartley Fowler	President Board of Trade.
James Bryce	Pres. Local Government Board.
George John Shaw-Lefevre	Chancellor Duchy of Lancaster.
Arthur Herbert Dyke Acland	First Commissioner of Works.

The above form the Cabinet.

(In the Cabinet)	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
(In the Cabinet)	Postmaster-General.
(In the Cabinet)	V.-P. Committee of Council.
(In the Cabinet)	Works and Public Buildings.
Herbert Colstoun Gardner	Pres. Board of Agriculture.
Thomas Edward Ellis.....	
Richard Knight Causton	{ Jun. Lords of the Treasury.
William Alexander McArthur... Sir John Tomlinson Hibbert ...	
	Financial Sec. to the Treasury.

Edward Marjoribanks	Patronage Sec. to the Treasury.
Charles Seale-Hayne	Paymaster-General.
Sir Francis Henry Jeune	Judge-Advocate General.
Vice-Ad. Sir Fred W. Richards	
Rear-Ad. Lord Walter T. Kerr	
Rear-Ad. J. Arbuthnot Fisher, C.B.	Lords of the Admiralty.
Capt. Gerard H. U. Noel	
Edmund Robertson	
Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart.	Secretary to the Admiralty.
Herbert John Gladstone	Parliamentary Sec. Home Office.
Sir Edward Grey, Bart.	Parliamentary Sec. Foreign Office.
Sydney Charles Buxton	Parliamentary Sec. Colonial Office.
George William Erskine Russell	
Lord Sandhurst	Parliamentary Sec. India Office.
Thomas Burt	Parliamentary Sec. War Office.
Sir (Balthazar) Walter Foster ... (Office abolished)	Parliamentary Sec. Brd. of Trade.
William Woodall	Parliamentary Sec. Loc. Gov. Brd.
Sir Charles Russell, Q.C.	Surveyor-General of Ordnance.
Sir John Rigby, Q.C.	Financial Sec. War Office.
	Attorney-General.
	Solicitor-General.

SCOTLAND.

Sir G. Otto Trevelyan (in Cabinet	Keeper of the Great Seal.
Lord Robertson	Lord Justice-General.
John Blair Balfour, Q.C.	Lord Advocate.
Marquis of Lothian	Keeper of the Privy Seal.
Lord Kingsburgh	Lord Justice Clerk.
Duke of Montrose	Lord Clerk Register.
Marquis of Breadalbane	High Commis. Gen. Assembly.
Alexander Asher, Q.C.	Solicitor-General.

IRELAND.

Lord Houghton	Lord Lieutenant.
John Morley (in Cabinet)	Chief Secretary.
Sir David Harrel (<i>temp.</i>)	Under Secretary.
Samuel Walker	Lord Chancellor.
Andrew Marshall Porter.....	Master of the Rolls.
The MacDermot, Q.C.	Attorney-General.
Charles Hare Hemphill, Q.C....	Solicitor-General.

The following was the Conservative Unionist Government of Lord Salisbury, formed in 1900. The inclusion of former Radical capitalists and Whig landowners is proof that a determination to retain slaver-caste dominance is the principal idea that governs the politics of the well-to-do, that before long only two parties will exist, the Possessionalists and the Socialists:—

The present Unionist Ministry, or Government by family.

Prime Minister	Marquess of Salisbury.
Lord High Chancellor	Earl of Halsbury.
Lord President of Council	Duke of Devonshire.
Lord Privy Seal	Marquess of Salisbury.
Chancellor of the Exchequer ...	Sir Michael E. Hicks-Beach, Bart.
Sec. of State Home Dept.....	Charles Thomson Ritchie.
Sec. of State Foreign Dept. ...	Marquess of Lansdowne.
Sec. of State Colonial Dept. ...	Joseph Chamberlain.
Sec. of State War Dept.	Hon. St. John Brodrick.
Sec. of State Indian Dept.	Lord George Hamilton.
Secretary for Scotland	Lord Balfour of Burleigh.
First Lord of the Admiralty ...	Earl of Selborne.
First Lord of the Treasury ...	Arthur James Balfour.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Earl Cadogan.
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	Lord Ashbourne.
President Board of Trade	Gerald William Balfour.
Chancellor Duchy of Lancaster	Lord James of Hereford.
Pres. Local Government Board	Walter Hume Long.
Pres. Board of Agriculture	Robert William Hanbury.
Works and Public Buildings ...	Aretas Akers-Douglas.
Postmaster-General	Marquess of Londonderry.

Out of 19 members five belong to one family, the Cecil. The Liberal Cabinet shows as follows:—Peers 5, other landowners 6, other members 6. The very foundation of all social reform rests with breaking the landed power, yet the majority here were landowners, and the Cabinet can virtually arrange all Parliamentary business, and cut out all private members' bills.

The honestly Possessionalist Cabinet shows 19 members in all, 9 being peers, 3 others titled gentlemen, and 7 others deeply interested in collecting an annual revenue from labour.

TABLE XVI.—THE STATE DEPARTMENTS UNDER SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

FOR DESCRIPTION SEE P. 259.

	<i>Departments.</i>		<i>Divisions.</i>
LAND	Tillage. Stock-rearing. †Forestry. †Mines. Fisheries.
MANUFACTURES	Buildings. Machinery. Foods and Clothing Sundries.
TRANSPORT	†Railroads. *Roadways. †Shipping. *Waterways.
DISTRIBUTION	*Administration. *Postal. Transference.
HOUSEHOLD AFFAIRS	Domestic. Medical. *Scholastic. Artistic.
NON-EFFECTIVES	Children. Invalids. Pensioners.

Those divisions that are marked * are already semi-socialised or capable without any trouble of being made so; those marked † are either State managed in some countries or chiefly under company management at home. Forestry is a State department in France; a nucleus of such organisation exists with us under our *Woods and Forests Office*. The Railroads are State property in most countries, and efficiently worked. Mines and Shipping are almost totally under Joint

Stock management, and, given "honest captains" of industry, could be efficiently managed for the common good to-morrow. Co-operation is at work in the Transference and Medical divisions, and holds its own with individualistic action; medical organisation is largely under State control, many medical men being direct or quasi-State officials in the Services, under the poor-law, or as sanitary science officials. The Board of Agriculture is a possible nucleus for the divisions of Tillage and Stock-rearing; Pisciculture would be more easily arranged for, a Fishery Board exists for Scotland, and many County Councils have fishery committees. The State now, for its special servants and services, possesses a Works and Public Buildings Office; it has its own factories for machinery, tools, and shipping, for food-stuffs and clothing.

In all these divisions the fact that company management has proved successful is unassailable; paid servants have successfully administered such businesses for the profit of shareholders; we only await for the Socialist spirit for their thorough socialisation.

Certain public offices and departments are supported now that in future will come under the division of artistic; the administration of the National Debt and of Government pensions shows the ability to organise such a division properly. The divisions of Domestic Affairs, Children, and Invalids, would chiefly involve merely statistical organisation, the duty of the officials of such sub-departments being merely to co-ordinate and not to control the individuals affected in their general affairs.

Perfect national organisation must be a process of growth, but when this is stated it must not be inferred that such has yet to be commenced; in lesser aggregates than the national organisation is far advanced in our midst; what we require now is the general will for harmonious national wholeness of being.

VARIETIES OF SLAVERY.

"Slavery is the obligation to labour for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the servant."—*Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary*.

"That which has the power, or not the power to operate, is that alone which is or is not free."—*Locke*.

In competitive civilisation, where the workers are divorced from the land, a man must work for some master or starve; since he competes with others for work, and must obtain it, the contract is all upon the side of the master-class or slaver-caste; he consents under duress.

VARIETY.	RIGHTS.			
	<i>Natural.</i>	<i>Juridical.</i>	<i>Political.</i>	<i>Economical.</i>
Chattel-slavery ..	None.	None.	None.	None.
Serfdom .. .	Some.	Some.	None.	None.
Wage or Hireling slavery. }	Some.	Some.	Some.	None.

By natural rights are meant those appertaining equally to all human beings as living creatures; by juridical those conferred by law in the eye of which the rich and poor are equal only in theory; by political are meant the rights conferred by the vote, possessed now, and that only partially, by thirty per cent. of our adults.

CAPITAL.

Two definitions can be given of this term. It may be stated to consist of commodities saved from present consumption and utilised to produce future wealth; or it may be described as consisting of commodities saved from present consumption and utilised to produce profit (that is, a return in more commodities, over and above the cost of production), for the person who possesses the legal right of using or of preventing them being used.

TABLE XVII.

The following table is formed on the first definition and is not to be taken as a scientific tabulation:—

Capital		Personal (labour energy).		Impersonal.	
		Impersonal Capital.			
Immoveable.				Moveable.	
Unused land.	Specialized land.			Tangible or real.	Fictitious.

See p. 212.

For a scientific exposition of capitalism see "Economics of Socialism," by H. M. Hyndman, by Twentieth Century Press. Price 2s. 6d.

TABLE XVIII.—VARIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AGES OF MAN.

DIVISION.	ANIMAL ERA.	CONDITION OF ARMS, TOOLS, ETC.	ORGANISATION AND GENUS.
Archæolithic or Palæolithic	Of extinct animals (cave-bear).	Rough stone age, horn, bone, etc.	Higher or Lower Savagery, all puerile.
	Of migrating ani- mals (Reindeer).	Ditto.	Ditto.
Neolithic—Primitive clansmen ..	Of present-day do- mestic animals.	Of polished stone, horn, bone, etc.	Higher Savagery, soon pass- ing into Lower Barbarism, mostly puerile.
Bronze-using men—later clans- men and early tribal groups.	Ditto.	Perhaps at first cop- per, then bronze.	Lower and Higher Barbarism. Ruling families mostly ado- lescent.
Iron-using men—later tribal aggre- gations, and all higher social forms.	Ditto.	Iron first, then steel.	Higher Barbarism and Pos- sessionalism. Ruling castes virile.

SOME DEFINITIONS.

Commodity—Is something derived through the exercise of labour-energy from natural products or from commodities derived from them.

Subsistence-wage—Is the wage the equivalent of which produces the barest amount of necessities of life consistent with continued existence.

Trade-union—Is an association of persons following the same or kindred forms of labour, or even no labour at all, as landowners and capitalists, for the purpose of advancing or bettering their condition in life.

Competition—Is used to denote struggling between persons for profit, not for honour, power, glory, or public approbation.

Individualist—Is a person who believes in upholding this present *regime* of competition for profit.

Profit—See *Capital*, p. 295.

Co-operation—Is the system where people work together in common for their mutual advantage.

Inter-coöperation.—Is the system where various co-operative bodies work together for their mutual advantage.

Christianity—Is *true* when following the commandments of its founder, for He preached a gospel denouncing the iniquities of a vested interest *regime*; it is *false*, or *Churchianity*, when trying to preach the commandments of God as if only referring to a future life in regard to the relationship of rich and poor, when upholding the present competitive *regime*.

Administrative government—Is one where all concerned mutually arrange how to manage their affairs.

Legislative government—Is one where a moiety of those concerned lay down law as to how those not represented by themselves must act and live.

Democracy—Is that state where all concerned are enfranchised and can exercise their power.

Pseudo-Democracy—Is that state where the slaver-caste alone are fully enfranchised, ignoring the slave-class as non-existent in matters of the State.

Slave—Is one who does not receive the full product or equivalent of the wealth he produces by his labour, this because someone purchases either him or his labour-power.

Surplus-value—Represents the difference in value between the wealth a slave produces and the equivalent of that which is requisite to subsist him, this difference is surplus-value to his owner.

Slaver-caste—Consists of the surplus-value takers and their parasites.

Slave-class—Consists of the surplus-value makers.

Social-Democracy—Is a state where all are enfranchised who labour, where all fitted do labour, where all mutually work for the common welfare on equality of opportunity, where all mutually benefit by that labour.

Communism—Would be a state as above where all share the produce of labour equally; this might also be known as Communal-Socialism.

Socialism—A state where all are enfranchised and work together for the common good, the reward for labour being at least a sufficiency for health, strength, and rational enjoyment of life.

Bastard-Socialism—Is a state of mutual co-operation for some common object, but where some reap very much less benefit from the labour than do others. This is socialistic action as distinct from the full development of the principle of socialism in social-democracy.

Commerce—Includes all the operations whereby wealth is utilised, whether of production, transport, distribution, or exchange.

Commerce for Profit—Where such operations are conducted for the prime object of benefiting the holder of capital.

Commerce for Use—Where the first object is that wealth should benefit the community.

The following is a short list of some of the authorities who have written upon archæology and primitive man:—Sir Chas. Lyell, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. John Evans, Dr. Thurnam, and Mr. Franks in this country; Professors Gandry, Steenstrup, Capellini, and Drs. Broca, Virchow, Wiberg, Rütimeyer, Forsyth Major on the Continent. To one wishful of study of this, to many minds, fascinating branch of knowledge, if they have not already commenced it—and book-study alone misses the greater part of the interest that can be derived—I would say start with the following books: “Primitive Man,” by Louis Figuier; “Early Man in Britain,” by W. Boyd Dawkins; and “Prehistoric Times,” by Sir John Lubbock.

Upon the Capitoline Hill there was found this inscription: “Work away, ass, as I have worked, and may it profit you as much.” This was bitter comment of a chattel slave to one of his four-footed fellow-slaves performing an unending round of monotonous labour. Have all the sufferings and sadness of the slave-class since then evolved no determined spirit of revolt after all these centuries of time? Has the present-day wage-slave no other message than this to give to the lads and girls of his own class growing up now in the schools?

Whatever the men of this day, and the women too, who are over thirty, may be—and almost all of them are sunk in servile apathy, at the best only aiming at political freedom for individual aggrandisement—it is unquestionable that the growing brain of young England, annulled and deadened as it often is by the be-in-subjection idea of Churchianity, will demand a different state of being when our present youth attain to manhood power. Whether we arrive at the Socialist State through chaotic revolt or compensatory reorganisation

depends upon the extent and forcibleness of the Socialist organisations in the meantime. To the Vested Interests we recommend the latter as the more pleasant of the two only courses of events open to our nation.

THE BASE OF ALL METAPHYSICS.

And now, Gentlemen,
A word I give to remain in your memories and minds,
As base and *finale* too for all metaphysics.
(So to the students the old professor,
At the close of his crowded career.)
Having studied the new and antique, the Greek and Germanic
systems,
Kant having studied and stated, Fichte and Schelling and
Hegel,
Stated the lore of Plato, and Socrates greater than Plato,
And greater than Socrates sought and stated, Christ divine
having studied long,
I see reminiscent to-day those Greek and Germanic systems,
See the philosophies all, Christian churches and tenets see,
Yet underneath Socrates clearly see, and underneath Christ
the divine I see,
The dear love of man for his comrade, the attraction of friend
to friend,
Of the well-married husband and wife, of children and parents,
Of city for city, and land for land.

WALT WHITMAN.

